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OF THE

Illinois State Historical Society

FOR THE YEAR 1926

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Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Society, Springfield, Illinois, May 6, 7 and 8, 1926

Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library

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OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1926-1927

President.

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville
CHARLES L. CAPEN.....Bloomington
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City

Board of Directors.

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
*JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
J A. JAMES.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
ORRIN N. CARTER.....Evanston
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....LaGrange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
HENRY J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington

Secretary and Treasurer.

*MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

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*Deceased, May 31, 1926.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Following the practice of the Publication Committee in previous years, this volume includes, besides the official proceedings and the papers read at the last annual meeting, some essays and other matter contributed during the year. It is hoped that these "contributions to State History" may, in larger measure as the years go on, deserve their title, and form an increasingly valuable part of the Society's transactions. The contributions are intended to include the following kinds of material:

1. Hitherto unpublished letters and other documentary material. This part of the volume should supplement the more formal and extensive publication of official records in the Illinois Historical Collections, which are published by the trustees of the State Historical Library.

2. Papers of a reminiscent character. These should be selected with great care, for memories and reminiscences are at their best an uncertain basis for historical knowledge.

3. Historical essays or brief monographs, based upon the sources and containing genuine contributions to knowledge. Such papers should be accompanied by foot-notes indicating with precision the authorities upon which the papers are based. The use of new and original material and the care with which the authorities are cited, will be one of the main factors in determining the selection of papers for publication.

4. Bibliographies.

5. Occasional reprints of books, pamphlets or parts of books now out of print and not easily accessible.

Circular letters have been sent out from time to time urging the members of the Society to contribute such historical material, and appeals for it have been issued in the pages of the *Journal*. The committee desires to repeat and emphasize these requests.

It is the desire of the committee that this annual publication of the Society supplement, rather than parallel or rival, the distinctly official publications of the *State Historical Library*. In historical research, as in so many other fields, the best results are likely to be achieved through the cooperation of private initiative with public authority. It was to promote such cooperation and mutual undertaking that this Society was organized. Teachers of history, whether in schools or colleges, are especially urged to do their part in bringing to this publication the best results of local research and historical scholarship.

In conclusion it should be said that the views expressed in the various papers are those of their respective authors and not necessarily those of the committee. Nevertheless, the committee will be glad to receive such corrections of fact or such general criticism as may appear to be deserved.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I—NAME AND OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The name of this Society shall be the Illinois State Historical Society.

SEC. 2. The objects for which it is formed are to excite and stimulate a general interest in the history of Illinois; to encourage historical research and investigation and secure its promulgation; to collect and preserve all forms of data in any way bearing upon the history of Illinois and its peoples.

ARTICLE II—OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY—THEIR ELECTION AND DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The management of the affairs of this Society shall be vested in a board of fifteen directors of which Board the president of the Society shall be *ex-officio* a member.

SEC. 2. There shall be a President and as many Vice Presidents, not less than three, as the Society may determine at the annual meetings. The Board of Directors, five of whom shall constitute a quorum, shall elect its own presiding officer, a secretary and treasurer, and shall have power to appoint from time to time such officers, agents and committees as they may deem advisable, and to remove the same at pleasure.

SEC. 3. The Directors shall be elected at the annual meetings and the mode of election shall be by ballot, unless by a vote of a majority of members present and entitled to vote, some other method may be adopted.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors diligently to promote the objects for which this Society has been formed and to this end they shall have power:

(1) To search out and preserve in permanent form for the use of the people of the State of Illinois, facts and data in the history of the State and of each county thereof, including the pre-historic periods and the history of the aboriginal inhabitants, together with biographies of distinguished persons who have rendered services to the people of the State.

(2) To accumulate and preserve for like use, books, pamphlets, newspapers and documents bearing upon the foregoing topics.

(3) To publish from time to time for like uses its own transactions as well as such facts and documents bearing upon its objects as it may secure.

(4) To accumulate for like use such articles of historic interest as may bear upon the history of persons and places within the State.

(5) To receive by gift, grant, devise, bequest or purchase books, prints, paintings, manuscripts, libraries, museums, moneys and other property, real or personal in aid of the above objects.

(6) They shall have general charge and control under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, of all property so received and hold the same for the uses aforesaid in accordance with an Act of the Legislature approved May 16, 1903, entitled "An Act to add a new section to an Act entitled an Act to establish the Illinois State Historical Library and to provide for its care and maintenance, and to make appropriations therefor," approved May 25, 1889, and in force July 1, 1889; they shall make and approve all contracts, audit all accounts and order their payment, and in general see to the carrying out of the orders of the Society. They may adopt by-laws not inconsistent with this Constitution, for the management of the affairs of the Society; they shall fix the times and places for their meetings; keep a record of their proceedings, and make report to the Society at its annual meeting.

SEC. 5. Vacancies in the Board of Directors may be filled by election by the remaining members, the persons so elected to continue in office until the next annual meeting.

SEC. 6. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and in case of his absence or inability to act, one of the Vice Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in case neither president nor vice president shall be in attendance, the Society may choose a president *pro-tempore*.

SEC. 7. The officers shall perform the duties usually devolving upon such offices, and such others as may from time to time be prescribed by the Society or the Board of Directors. The treasurer shall keep a strict account of all receipts and expenditures and pay out money from the treasury only as directed by the Board of Directors; he shall submit an annual report of the finance of the Society and such other matters as may be committed to his custody to the Board of Directors within such time prior to the annual meeting as they shall direct, and after auditing the same the said Board shall submit said report to the Society at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

SECTION 1. The membership of this Society shall consist of five classes to-wit: Active, Life, Affiliated, Corresponding and Honorary.

SEC. 2. Any person may become an active member of this Society upon payment of such initiation fee not less than one dollar, as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

SEC. 3. Any person entitled to be an active member may upon payment of twenty-five dollars be admitted as a life member with all the privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from annual dues.

SEC. 4. County and other historical societies, and other societies engaged in historical or archeological research or in the preservation of the knowledge of historic events, may upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors be admitted as affiliated members of this Society upon the same terms as to the payment of initiation fees and annual dues as active and life members. Every society so admitted shall be entitled to one duly accredited representative at each meeting of the Society who shall during the period of his appointment be entitled as such representative to all the privileges of an active member except that of being elected to office; but nothing herein shall prevent such representative becoming an active or life member upon like conditions as other persons.

SEC. 5. Persons not active nor life members but who are willing to lend their assistance and encouragement to the promotion of the objects of this Society, may, upon recommendation of the Board of Directors, be admitted as corresponding members.

SEC. 6. Honorary membership may be conferred at any meeting of the Society upon the recommendation of the Board of Directors upon persons who have distinguished themselves by eminent services or contributions to the cause of history.

SEC. 7. Honorary and corresponding members shall have the privilege of attending and participating in the meetings of the Society.

ARTICLE IV—MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

SECTION 1. There shall be an annual meeting of this Society for the election of officers, the hearing of reports, addresses and historical papers and the transaction of business at such time and place in the month of May in each year as may be designated by the Board of Directors, for which meeting it shall be the duty of said Board to prepare and publish a suitable program and procure the services of persons well versed in history to deliver addresses or read essays upon subjects germane to the objects of this organization.

SEC. 2. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Directors. Special meetings of the Board of Directors may be called by the President or any two members of the Board.

SEC. 3. At any meeting of the Society the attendance of ten members entitled to vote shall be necessary to a quorum.

ARTICLE V—AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present and entitled to vote, at any annual meeting; *Provided*, that the proposed amendment shall have first been submitted to the Board of Directors, and at least thirty days prior to such annual meeting notice of proposed action upon the same, sent by the Secretary to all the members of the Society.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

Objects of Collection Desired by the Illinois State Historical Library and Society.

(Members please read this Circular Letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American history, biography, and genealogy, particularly those relating to the West; works on Indian tribes, and American Archæology and ethnology; reports of societies and institutions of every kind, educational, economic, social, political, cooperative, fraternal, statistical, industrial, charitable; scientific publications of states or societies; books or pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; newspapers; maps and charts; engravings; photographs; autographs; coins; antiquities; encyclopedias, dictionaries, and bibliographical works. Especially do we desire

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, journals.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement, the Indian troubles, or the great Rebellion or other wars; biographies of the pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every county either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every township, village, and neighborhood in the state, with the names of the first settlers. We solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons and addresses delivered in the state; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such, whether published in pamphlet or newspaper.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school

superintendents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our territorial and state legislatures; earlier governors' messages and reports of state officers; reports of state charitable and other state institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the state, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings; portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins; medals; paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics, autograph letters of distinguished persons, etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc.; sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities, and implements; also, stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

It is important that the work of collecting historical material in regard to the part taken by Illinois in the great war be done immediately, before important local material be lost or destroyed.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress, or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the Library and Society, and will be carefully preserved in the Historical Library as the property of the state, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Your attention is called to the important duty of collecting and preserving everything relating to the part taken by the State of Illinois in the great World War.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the Assistant Secretary.

(Miss) Georgia L. Osborne.

PART I

Record of Official Proceedings

1926

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 1926.

The annual meeting of the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society was held in the Historical Library, Thursday morning, May 6, 1926, the President of the Society, Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, presiding. There were present: Messrs. Russel, James, Allen, Pease, Hay, Hauberg, Schmidt, Smith, Clendenin and Mrs. Weber.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

Mrs. Weber spoke of the gift to the Library of the handsome oil painting of the Ballance family which was presented to the Library by the daughter of Mr. Ballance, Mrs. Virginia Bash. Charles Ballance, her father, was one of the founders of the city of Peoria and wrote an early history of that city.

Attention was called to the death masque of Mr. Hardin W. Masters of this city which was presented to the Society by his son, Mr. Edgar Lee Masters.

Mr. Logan Hay made an excellent plea for some action for the preservation of the Sangamon County Court House, formerly the old State Capitol. On account of the inadequacy of this building for the present purposes of county administration there appears to be considerable danger of either the building being destroyed by means of the addition of wings or its complete razing so as to replace it with a modern building. Mr. Hay called attention to Ex-Governor Lowden's statement during his short address at the meeting of the Lincoln Centennial Association when he said that in his estimation it was the most important building west of the Alleghanies. Mr. Hay also presented an interesting historical sketch of the building. It is a great problem for the city and county to solve but also of great importance to the State on account of its being a shrine for Lincoln memories.

Professor J. A. James also spoke on the same question with much enthusiasm and said while it was a matter of national importance nevertheless the pride of Illinois should be sufficiently aroused to care for the building.

It was moved and carried that it be recommended to the Society at its business meeting that a committee be appointed to act for the preservation of the building.

In response to Professor George W. Smith's question about the title to the land, Mr. Hay gave facts setting forth that the public square had been deeded to the County by the State at the time of the removal of the Capitol to the present building.

It was moved and seconded that a resolution for the preservation of the old State House be prepared ready for publication at an opportune time. Carried.

Professor James spoke of the desirability of a celebration of General George Rogers Clark's capture of Kaskaskia and that it ought to be commensurate with the important results following it. Dr. Ira W. Allen moved that a committee be appointed to study the George Rogers Clark conquest and prepare recommendations for a suitable sesqui-centennial celebration.

On account of lack of time due to the importance of the joint meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Illinois State Historical Society it was moved to dispense with other business considerations and adjourn. Motion seconded and carried.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 6, 1926, AT 10 A. M., AUDITORIUM ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL BUILDING.

The meeting was called to order by Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President of the Historical Society who asked that a motion be made to defer the business meeting until after the papers for the morning had been given. A motion to this effect was made and seconded.

After the various addresses had been given, Doctor Schmidt called the business meeting of the Society to order. Dr. J. A. James of Evanston, said before the visitors left he would like to offer a resolution. He said he saw no place on the program indicated that the visitors go to the old State House where President Lincoln made his famous address nor to the Lincoln tomb. He suggested that all go under proper guidance to the two places. He suggested that the program start at 9:30 the next morning and all speakers be limited to 20 minutes, thus giving all a chance to visit both places. He also suggested that the Executive Session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association consider the possibility of beginning at 9:30 to be through by 10:30. Resolution put to a motion and carried.

Professor Woodburn suggested that the afternoon program begin at 2 o'clock.

Doctor Schmidt, the President of the Historical Society, called for the next order of business of the Society. He said the first order of business would be the reading of the minutes of the last session but if there was no objection the reading of same would be dispensed with. This was put to a motion and carried.

The reading of the report of the Secretary was the next order of business. The President suggested that the appointment of a Nominating Committee be the next order of business and it was moved and seconded that this be done and Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Jamison, Mrs. Winston, Mr. Searle, Mrs. Stericker and Doctor Earle were named as the Committee to consider nominations for officers.

Mrs. Weber said her report had been accepted by the Board of Directors and she had been ordered by them to call attention to some points in her report which in their opinion was most important. She called attention to the building referred to by Professor James and also by Professor O'Donnell in his address to the Society and said it was one of the most important objects which she had to present to the Society in her report. She also called the attention of those present to the death of one of the

Directors of the Society, President E. J. James. A letter of greeting from Doctor E. B. Greene, another director of the Historical Society was read.

Dr. Schmidt asked for a resolution on the death of President James. Professor J. A. James thought this a very important suggestion and said he would like to move that a committee be especially selected and that Professor E. B. Greene be asked to act as chairman of the committee or to serve on the committee which should consist of five members.

A motion was made and seconded that a committee of five be appointed and that Professor E. B. Greene draw up the resolution. Carried.

Doctor Schmidt called attention to the suggestion with regard to Mrs. Anne C. Dickson. That a message be sent to her wishing her a speedy recovery and thanking her for the flowers she sent for the meeting. He also called attention to the suggestion with regard to the gift of Mrs. Bash of the portrait of the Ballance family. Professor Smith suggested that this matter be left to the Secretary as was also the matter of the gift of the death masque of Mr. Hardin J. Masters by his son, Edgar Lee Masters. A telegram of congratulation on his birthday was sent to Hon. Joseph G. Cannon.

With regard to the preservation of the old State House, now the Sangamon County Court House, Professor J. A. James offered the following resolution:

That a committee of seven be appointed of which the President and Secretary be two members to consider the historical value of the old State House and the desirability of considering plans for its preservation.

This resolution was put to a vote and carried.

Mr. Hauberg asked if the matter of the George Rogers Clark celebration was included with the list of important matters by Mrs. Weber. Doctor Schmidt replied that Professor James had been appointed as chairman of a committee for that purpose and a special meeting would be called the next day to make plans to be presented to the next meeting of the Society.

The nominating committee then returned and Mrs. Miller, the chairman, asked that she might present the report of the committee. The following were the nominations:

OFFICERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1926.

President.

DR. O. L. SCHMIDT.....Chicago

Vice Presidents.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE.....Galesburg
L. Y. SHERMAN.....Springfield
RICHARD YATES.....Springfield
ENSLEY MOORE.....Jacksonville

CHARLES L. CAPEN.....Bloomington
EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE.....New York City

Board of Directors.

CHARLES H. RAMMELKAMP.....Jacksonville
GEORGE W. SMITH.....Carbondale
ANDREW RUSSEL.....Jacksonville
*JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield
WALTER COLYER.....Albion
J. A. JAMES.....Evanston
H. W. CLENDENIN.....Springfield
JOHN H. HAUBERG.....Rock Island
REV. IRA W. ALLEN.....LaGrange
LAURENCE M. LARSON.....Urbana
THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.....Urbana
H. J. PATTEN.....Evanston
LOGAN HAY.....Springfield
GEORGE DIXON.....Dixon
LINCOLN WELDON.....Bloomington

Secretary and Treasurer.

*MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER.....Springfield

Assistant Secretary.

MISS GEORGIA L. OSBORNE.....Springfield

Honorary Vice Presidents.

The Presidents of Local Historical Societies in Illinois.

---

*Deceased, May 31, 1926.

Mrs. Miller moved the adoption of the report of the nominating committee. Doctor Schmidt asked the Secretary to cast the ballot for the officers as named.

Mrs. Weber spoke of Mr. Clendenin's book which was soon to be ready for distribution and said it would be a mine of historical treasure. Mr. Clendenin briefly thanked the Society.

Mr. Edward C. Page, of DeKalb, offered the following Resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Historical Society recommend to the Directors and to the Illinois State Historical Library Board to take steps for the proper celebration of the sesquicentennial of the capture of the Northwest by George Rogers Clark.

There being no further business the business meeting of the Historical Society adjourned.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY 5, 1926.

To the Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society.

GENTLEMEN:

I beg to present to you a report of the affairs of the Society for the year ending May 5, 1926. The reports which I make to you each year are necessarily of the same general scope, and as I have often before stated the work of the Historical Library and the Historical Society are not separate lines of work. All officers and employes of the Library are employed, too, in working for the Society. The work is not divided. Gifts are more often made to the Society. This is natural. So in making the annual reports, I try to tell you of our membership, of the work we do in the Library, how such tasks are performed, the progress of the various lines of work, of our purchases, our gifts, our publications, our cooperation with other organizations and other departments of the work of the State of Illinois and of our more distinguished visitors. A day book of the routine of the Library would not be without interest. A brief account of the casual visitors, the questions asked, answers to these questions, the callers who have important or other historical information to impart, or who have historical items to sell. All of these consume time, but are a necessary part of the day's work.

Our work is fairly well divided into different departments, but every employe cheerfully assists in any work in which he or she is needed.

OUR PURCHASE.

One of the most important lines of our work is our collection of material relating to the life and times of Abraham Lincoln.

The Collection of the Illinois State Historical Library is one of the most important collections of Lincolniana in the United States, and that means in the world. Fortunately for posterity a number of rich men are interested in this line of work. I say fortunately, for the prices which these rich collectors can pay for Lincoln letters has caused an exhaustive search to be made for every letter or document in Mr. Lincoln's handwriting or which bears his signature, and so such treasures are being preserved. In the course of time these private collections are either sold or donated to some institution, where they will be safe and carefully preserved in fireproof vaults or buildings. Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., bought the noted collection of the late Charles L. McClellan of Champlain, New York, and presented it to Brown University. Mr. Henry Huntington purchased the great Lincoln

collection of the late Judd Stewart of Plainfield, New Jersey, and is constantly adding to it. He is building a great fireproof Library at his home in California for the collection and is adding to it all the time. These private collectors with unlimited money at their disposal almost preclude institutions with very limited appropriations from securing rare manuscripts, but the fact that the document is preserved is the important thing, though the poor librarian has many an envious pang when some rare manuscript, which has been offered to her and she has been unable to buy it, is quickly and eagerly purchased for collections which have more money at their disposal.

At the request of the Secretary of State I wrote a description of the Lincoln collection owned by this Library, and I mentioned some of the other important Lincoln collections of the United States. This sketch has been published by the Secretary of State in the recent Blue Book of Illinois. This Blue Book which is published biennially by the Secretary of State is one of the most valuable and interesting of the publications of the State of Illinois. It contains a large amount of historical and statistical information. This Library is well known to dealers in Lincolniana, some of whom keep our "want lists" and give us the first opportunity of purchasing rare Lincoln items. It is likely that some day, not in our time however, there may be a practically complete Lincoln collection owned either by the United States Government or the State of Illinois. This will be a central depository in which may be found all books and pamphlets about Lincoln and at least facsimile copies of all letters and documents. It will be accomplished some time. An arrangement might be made with the copyright department and other departments of the Library of Congress to furnish that collection with a copy or copies of each new copyrighted book, and writers of monographs or addresses would be glad to send their works to be made a part of such a collection.

I am sorry to say that Mr. O. H. Oldroyd of Washington, D. C., refused the offer of the State of Illinois for his noted collection. Mr. Oldroyd has been trying for a number of years to sell it to the United States government and Congress has at last made an appropriation for its purchase. I am sorry that it is not to belong to the State of Illinois. I am glad that its preservation is assured and in the manner earnestly desired by Mr. Oldroyd. Mr. H. M. Rathbone, member of Congress at large from Illinois was largely instrumental in securing the appropriation for the purchase of the collection. The price paid was $50,000, the same amount that Illinois offered for it.

LINCOLN PORTRAIT.

The last session of the General Assembly of the State of Illinois made an appropriation of $10,000 for the purchase of a rare portrait of Mr. Lincoln, the work of the noted American portrait painter, George H. Storey. The portrait now hangs on the wall of our Lincoln room. It is a real investment for the

State. A portrait by this artist has a substantial value, no matter who the subject is. Portraits from life of Mr. Lincoln are rare, and those by this artist command very high prices.

LINCOLN BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Mr. Joseph B. Oakleaf, one of the most active members of this Society, has compiled a bibliography of Lincoln literature. Mr. Oakleaf devoted several years and a great amount of labor to this work. Some years ago the late Judge Daniel Fish of Minnesota compiled a Lincoln bibliography which has been the principal guide book of collectors of Lincolniana. Mr. Oakleaf has continued this work, has corrected and amended it and has added hundreds of items which had not come to Judge Fish's attention or which have been published since his work was completed. Mr. Oakleaf has done a great piece of work. His bibliography is a beautiful book. The small edition which was published is already exhausted. It is an essential reference book and a necessary tool for every collector of Lincolniana. Mr. Oakleaf is to be congratulated upon the completion of such a fine and important piece of work.

CLENDENIN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

I am not sure but that I am making a premature announcement, but it gives me great pleasure to tell you that our beloved colleague and benefactor, Mr. Henry W. Clendenin, has about completed his book of reminiscences, his autobiography. It is not necessary for me to tell you that this book will be a deep mine of historical treasure and experience, a rare and tolerant retrospect of active, aggressive and useful years. We congratulate him, if he will allow us to do so, on the accomplishment of another service to his family, his friends, his community and his State.

HISTORICAL ANNIVERSARIES.

A number of counties of Illinois in 1925 completed a century of existence as organized counties of the State. Some of these held centennial observances.

Hancock County held a very significant celebration. Peoria County also observed its centennial. The city of Jacksonville devoted much of the summer and fall to the observance of its centennial as a town and city. This Society published a Jacksonville Centennial number of its Journal, that of April, 1925. It is a history of Jacksonville prepared by a competent committee. For the Transaction of the Society for last year (1925), Dr. Carl E. Black has written an excellent account of the Centennial observance. In a later number of the Journal (October, 1925), we published an historical address on Jacksonville by Congressman Richard Yates, one of the Vice Presidents of this Society. The Secretary has received several letters commending Gov. Yates' article.

CENTENNIAL OF LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO ILLINOIS.

Last year at our annual meeting, May 6-7, 1925, Prof. J. W. Swain gave us an address on Lafayette. This address ably reviewed for us the career of Lafayette in Europe and America, as well as gave us an account of the visit to Illinois of the distinguished patriot.

On May 14, 1925, the little city of Shawneetown celebrated the centenary of Lafayette's visit to that place. It was a celebration in every way successful and a credit to the community. Dr. Schmidt, Miss Osborne, Mr. C. J. Doyle, Mr. and Mrs. J. S. King, Mrs. James A. Rose and I attended it, as did several other members of the Society. Dr. Schmidt and Mr. Doyle made addresses representing this Society. A full account of the Shawneetown celebration, giving the address of Mr. Doyle was published in the July, 1925 number of the Journal, so I will not take further time describing it, but refer you to the Journal. If you have not read it do not fail to do so.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK SESQUI-CENTENNIAL.

The year 1928 will be the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the capture of Kaskaskia by George Rogers Clark and his little army. Clark and his men were the first to bring to the Illinois country the opportunity to take part in the Revolution that created the United States of America and to become a part of the new nation. We must celebrate this great historical event in a worthy manner. We must give earnest consideration to the matter. Indiana has already made a start. We will have the opportunity of hearing about this during the course of this meeting. Mr. Wm. Fortune of Indianapolis will talk to us about it on Friday, May 7.

On Saturday, September 5, 1925, at Somonauk, De Kalb County, Ill., a bronze tablet was placed commemorating the erection of the first cabin built by a white man in De Kalb County in 1834, and also to memoralize the organization in 1846 of the United Presbyterian Church. The boulder on which the tablet was placed is on the northwest corner of the church yard. The cabin was built by a trapper whose name is lost, and in 1842 it became the home of George Beveridge. He brought his wife and children to the trackless prairies and there founded a home.

The tablet was placed largely by the efforts of James A. and Henry J. Patten, descendants of George Beveridge. Mr. Henry J. Patten is one of the directors of this Society. A large assemblage witnessed the dedicatory exercises which consisted of addresses and music. Among the addresses delivered was one by Dr. O. L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois State Historical Society and of the Chicago Historical Society. The subject of Dr. Schmidt's address was "The Underground Railroad." An account of this celebration appears in the Journal of the Society, October, 1925.

One of the members of this Society who has for years been a part of all the functions of the meetings is sick in St. John's

Hospital. She thought of this meeting and sent a greeting and some beautiful flowers with her best wishes. I would like an expression of sympathy and thanks for the flowers. I refer to Mrs. Anne C. Dickson of the State Auditor's office. A message will cheer her; I know from experience. I have a letter of greeting from Prof. E. B. Greene.

PRESERVATION OF THE OLD STATE HOUSE.

One of the most important subjects to which I call your attention today is that of the proper preservation of the old State House, the present Sangamon County Court House. This building is no longer adequate for the official business of Sangamon County. Something must be done. A committee of county and city officials is working on it. It is a difficult problem.

When Dr. Michael Pupin of Columbia University was in Springfield on Lincoln's birthday, Feb. 12, 1926, he addressed a mass meeting in that building, in the circuit court room, the room that in Lincoln's day was the House of Representatives. In that room Lincoln made his great "House divided against itself" speech. In that building he had an office, a small anteroom of the Governor's office, where during the long summer and fall of the Campaign of 1860 he received visitors and delegations. It was in that year, perhaps the most noted building in the United States. In that room, now the circuit court room, the room where Dr. Pupin spoke—Mr. Lincoln's remains laid in State when all that was mortal of Illinois' greatest son was brought home to his final resting place.

This building, said Dr. Pupin, "is one of the sacred historical shrines of America. It is like Independence Hall and Fanueil Hall, one of the temples of American liberty. Dr. Pupin said he had for that building the same feeling of reverence and awe that he had for those earlier American shrines." We know that the Sangamon County committee will appreciate these things. Let us help all we can. Now is the time. The State has bought the old Capitol at Vandalia. What can be done with the greater problem?

The Library continues its research work, if such a term may be applied to the searching we do in response to enquiries of various kinds. Our correspondence is heavy. Many kind letters are received expressing appreciation of our efforts.

Members are also kind in saying they enjoy the Journal. I recently received a letter, however, from a member of the General Assembly complaining that the untrimmed and uncut leaves took too much of a busy man's time. It reminded me of a letter that I received a number of years ago, containing just such a criticism. We published it in the Journal, asking suggestions and very soon another member wrote expressing his pleasure in the fine paper and type, and the pleasure he took in cutting the leaves. He quoted Field as follows:

"O, let it such a volume be
As in rare copper plates abounds
Large paper, clear and fair to see
Uncut, unique, unknown to Lowndes."

The last several numbers of the Journal have been so unwieldy as to be most awkward. Improvement in that respect is hereby promised. I would like you to suspend judgment until the next volume appears. There is still number four of volume 18 to appear. It will soon be sent you.

CROWDED CONDITION OF LIBRARY.

Last year I told you of the crowded condition of the Library, the lack of storage space, the absence of any exhibition room or space to house our world war collection. The accumulations of another year have been added since I made that report and we have no additional space, so conditions are not improved.

It is true the addition to this building for which appropriation was made by the last General Assembly has not been built, and we are hoping to obtain some additional room when that new building is added.

NEWSPAPER FILES.

The newspaper files which this Library owns are among the most valuable of its collections and most constantly in use.

MEMBERSHIP.

Our regular mailing list now numbers 2,357 addresses.

The editions of our publications are 3,000. Somewhat less than half of this number are members of the Society residing in Illinois, there being 1,033 of them.

There are 225 members in Chicago; 118 in Springfield; 31 in Rock Island; 30 in Rockford; 28 in Jacksonville; 26 in Peoria; 24 in Moline; 24 in Decatur; 22 in Evanston; 21 in Ottawa; 21 in Carlinville, I am very proud of the little city of Carlinville; 18 in Dixon; 18 in Oak Park, and less numbers in the other cities.

There are 690 members in the State of Illinois exclusive of Chicago and Springfield. The other addresses, the larger proportion of our mailing list to which we send our publications are public officials, State Libraries and Historical Societies, public libraries in Illinois, College and University libraries, and public libraries in the large cities. We send to seven institutions in England. We have one member in France, and several in Canada.

DECEASED MEMBERS.

I try to give a notice and a brief biography of deceased members in the Journal. Since my last annual report sixteen members of the Society have died. There may be others of which I have received no notice.

The following named members have passed away since our last annual meeting:

Barton, Mrs. William E., Foxboro, Mass.....November, 1925
Crews, Rev. E. K., Decatur.....November 15, 1925
Doocy, Edward, Pittsfield.....February, 1926
Gay, Simeon G., Ottawa..... 1925
Hairgrove, Columbus, Jacksonville.....August 20, 1925
Hills, George P., Ottawa.....February 8, 1926
*James, Dr. Edmund J., Urbana.....June 18, 1925
Lloyd, Mrs. John H., Springfield.....March, 1926
McCrea, H. T., Edwardsville.....June, 1925
Martin, Judge Charles A., Virginia.....March 4, 1926
Miner, Dr. James, Winchester.....September 16, 1925
Peck, Professor Paul F., Grinnell, Iowa.....November, 1925
Richards, R. C., Geneva..... 1925
Risse, William B., Springfield.....June 4, 1925
Smith, C. B., Wheaton.....January 2, 1926
Wood, R. O., Bunker Hill.....September 17, 1925

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*A brief memoir of E. J. James was in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 18, No. 2, July, 1925.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

Gifts to the Society and Library are acknowledged in the Journal and I will not take your time by repeating such acknowledgments, but I will mention two of the more notable gifts.

Some months ago Mrs. Virginia Bash, whom I have had the honor of knowing for many years as she is the friend and contemporary of my mother, wrote to me and asked if the Historical Society would like the portrait of her father and his family. Mr. Charles Ballance, the father of this lady, was one of the founders of the city of Peoria, and the author of an early history of that city. He was also an early member of the General Assembly of the State. Of course I gladly accepted the gift and when it came, it surprised me greatly. It is a family group of nine figures, father, mother and seven children. The artist was, I believe, J. F. Williams. The picture is well painted, and the likenesses appear to be good. The canvas is of course very large, about six by eight feet. It is a remarkable group. It will be most attractive in a picture gallery when we have one. I wish all of you would look at it. It is about seventy years old.

DEATH MASK OF HARDIN W. MASTERS.

A plaster death mask of the late Hardin W. Masters, early lawyer of Menard, Fulton, and Sangamon County, a friend of Stephen A. Douglas, has been presented to the Historical Society by his son, Edgar Lee Masters, whose beautiful tribute to his father and friend, when that father passed away is worthy to be placed with other of Edgar Lee Masters' best productions.

Our Library, our Society and our influence are growing rapidly. I believe I have told you of the principal happenings

and efforts of the Society since my report a year ago. The past year has been one of great importance and interest; the coming one will be equally so. I congratulate the Society upon these things and urge the members to greater activity.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary, Illinois State Historical Society.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGY.

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

To give members of the Society some idea of the scope of the work in this department, it would be interesting for you to have access to our mail. Among recent letters received was a request to look up facts in regard to fifteen families located in Connecticut, New York, Virginia, and Maryland—a list of names enclosed. A postal card a few days later with a similar request for information regarding ten families located in various parts of Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana; list of names noted.

As it has been our rule to limit our buying of family histories to Illinois and allied families, we can answer these inquiries by saying that while we do not have a family history of the list sent, still we will try and locate them in some of the states named. This of course takes days of research work and in many instances we have been able to run across a clue from which they can make further research. Our card catalogue on families outside of the state, which we have found in many publications is of great value in this respect. We take a little pride to ourselves when we find that the work on this card index has proven of great service and will continue to be more valuable as we add to it from time to time.

For those looking up the pioneer families of Illinois, "The first Census of the State 1818," when it is published will be of great help. This census of 1818 will be published by the library, and Miss Norton of the Archives department will edit it, adding bibliographical notes of such of the pioneers as she is able to find information on. The Archives department has quite a collection of early election returns in the state, which definitely locates the early voters, in many of the smaller localities of the state. This information could not be found elsewhere.

We have recently added to our collection many valuable books which as usual I will list according to the respective states adding at the end the list of family histories.

There has been compiled from the court records of Morgan County a list of the early marriages of the county beginning with Dec. 9, 1827, to Dec. 31, 1860. We have a typewritten copy of this record.

We have some early marriage records in Putnam County, compiled by Mrs. George Spangler, and published in the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society Nov. 29, 1922;

early marriages and wills of Tazewell and Woodford Counties, compiled by Mrs. George Spangler and published in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 14, Nos. 1-2, April-July, 1921, and marriages performed by Rev. N. M. Baker in Macon County, Illinois, 1861-1921. Published in the Journal of the State Historical Society, Vol. 16, Nos. 1-2, April-July, 1923.

We are anxious that as far as possible, some one in each county of the state will be interested in searching out from court records these early marriages and sending them in to us; in this way they will be carefully preserved and if the original records are lost or destroyed by fire, in the library can be found a duplicate record.

Mrs. Harriet J. Walker in 1917 compiled a list of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois, which when published and since then, has been a very valuable aid to those trying to locate their revolutionary ancestors. While Mrs. Walker is now living in California, she still keeps up her interest in Illinois, and has for the past few years been adding from time to time to this original list of revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois until now she has sixty additional names to add, making over 700 Revolutionary soldiers buried in 82 different counties in Illinois. We will publish this new list of names with their Revolutionary record as far as it has been able to obtain them in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, July-October, 1926.

LIST OF ACQUISITIONS, COMPILED BY STATES.

Connecticut State. Congregational Church, with South Connecticut Congregational Church records, by Gerard Hallock. 257 p. New Haven, Conn. 1865, Tuttle, Morehouse, Pub.

Connecticut State. Fairfield County, Conn. History, by Hurd D. Hamilton, Philadelphia, Pa. 1881. J. W. Lewis, Pub.

Connecticut State. New Britain, Connecticut, Story of. By Lillian Hart Tryon, Hartford, Conn. Ester Stanley Chapter D. A. R. 126 p. 1925.

Connecticut State. Salisbury, Conn. Town of Salisbury, Litchfield County, Conn. Pub. New Haven, Conn. 154 p. Tuttle, Morehouse Pub. 1913. (Gift).

Delaware State. New Castle, Delaware. Records of the Court of New Castle, Delaware. 543 p. Pub. Lancaster, Pa. 1904. Wickersham, Printers.

Indiana State. Madison Co. Centennial History of Madison County, Indiana, by J. J. Netterville. 2 Vols. Andersonville, Ind. Historical Association Pub. 1925.

Indiana State. Wabash, and Valley. History of the Wabash and Valley. By Benj. F. Stuart. 272 p. 1924. Longwell & Cummings, Pub.

Kentucky State. Kentucky Land Grants. Filson Club Publications, No. 33. Edited by Willard R. Jillson, Louisville, Ky. 1925. Standard Printing Co.

Kentucky State. Louisville, Ky. Louisville First Families, by Kathleen Jennings. 176 p. Louisville, Ky. 1920. Standard Printing Co.

Kentucky State. Kentucky Records, early wills and marriages, old Bible records and Tombstone Inscriptions. Compiled by Mrs. William Breckenridge Ardery. 206 p. Lexington, Ky. 1926. Published by Daughters of the American Revolution of Kentucky.

Maine State. Hallowell, Maine. Vital Records of Hallowell, Maine to 1892. 103 p. Maine Historical Society Pubs. 1925.

Maine State. Maine Ancestors in the American Revolution. Index of Maine men in the rolls of Honor in the Lineage books of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Vols. 1 to 70. Pub. Hallowell, Maine. Compiled by Mabel Goodwin Hall. 36 p. 1924.

Maine State. Norridgewock, Maine, History of. By William Allen. 252 p. Norridgewock, Me. 1849. Edward J. Peet, Pub.

Maryland State. Annapolis, its colonial and naval story, by Walter B. Norris. 323 p. New York. 1925. Thomas Y. Crowell, Pub.

Maryland State. Talbot Co. Md. Marriage licenses of Talbot County, Maryland, by Robert F. Hayes. Typed copy. 51 p. 1926.

Maryland State. Historic graves of Maryland and District of Columbia, by Helen W. Ridgely. 296 p. N. Y. Grafton Press. 1908.

Maryland State. Wills, Maryland Calendar of. Vol. VII. Wills 1732-1738. Compiled by Jane Baldwin and Roberta Balling Henry. Baltimore, Md. 1925.

Massachusetts State. Brookline, Mass., History of. Brookline Press, Pub. 1906. Brookline, Mass. 251 p.

Massachusetts State. Cambridge, Mass., History of. H. O. Houghton. 731 p. Pub. Boston, 1877.

Massachusetts State. Hopkinton, Massachusetts Vital Records. N. E. Hist. & Genealogical Society Pubs. 462 p. Boston, 1911.

Massachusetts State. Lancaster, Mass. Early Records of Lancaster, Mass. Henry S. Nourse, Editor. Pub. by W. J. Couller, Lancaster, Mass., 1884. 365 p.

Massachusetts State. Manchester, Mass., History of. By D. F. Lawson. 425 p. The Pinkham Press. Boston, 1895.

Massachusetts State. Martha's Vineyard, History of. Vol. 3. By Charles Edward Banks, Edgartown, Mass. 565 p. Dukes Historical Society, Pubs., 1925.

Massachusetts State. Medway, Mass. Military history of Medway, Mass. By Ephraim O. Jameson. 110 p. Providence, R. I. 1886.

Massachusetts State. Nantucket, History of. By Alexander Starbuck. 871 p. C. E. Goodspeed Pub. Boston, 1924.

Massachusetts State. Newton, Mass., History of. By S. F. Smith. 851 p. Boston, 1880.

Massachusetts State. Walpole, Mass., The story of. 1724-1924. 374 p. Willard de Lue. Norwood, Mass., 1925.

Massachusetts State. Wenham, Mass., History of. By Myron O. Allen, M. D. 220 p. Boston, Mass., 1860. Bozine and Chandler, Pub.

Massachusetts State. Oxford, Mass. History of town of Oxford, by George F. Daniels. 856 p. Oxford, Mass., 1892.

Massachusetts State. Provincetown Book. By Nancy W. Paine Smith. Tolman Print. 260 p. Brockton, Mass., 1922.

Massachusetts State. Worcester, Mass., History of. By William Lincoln. Pub., Charles Hersey, Worcester, Mass. 448 p. 1862.

Michigan State. Zeeland, Mich. Immigration and early history of the people of Zeeland. By Anna Kremer Keppel. 45 p. Zeeland Record Press, 1925.

Missouri State. Franklin Co., Mo. Centennial Biographical Directory Franklin Co., Mo. Compiled by Herman Gottlieb Kiel. 444 p. Washington, D. C. 1925.

New Hampshire State. Pembroke, N. H., History of. By N. F. Carter and Fowler. Concord, N. H. 1895. Republican Press, Pub.

New Hampshire State. Petersborough, N. H., History of. By Albert Smith. 375 p. Boston, 1876. George H. Ellis Press.

New Hampshire State. Swanzey, New Hampshire, History of. By Benjamin Read. 585 p. The Salem Press. Salem, Mass., Pubs.

New Hampshire State. Tuftonboro, New Hampshire. An historical sketch. By Rev. John W. Hayley. 111 p. Tuftonboro, N. H. Rumford Press. 1923. Concord, N. H.

New Jersey State. Newark, New Jersey, History of. By Joseph Atkinson. Newark, N. J. 334 p. 1878. William B. Guild, Pub.

New York State. Kinderhook, N. Y. Inscriptions of the historic stones Kinderhook, N. Y. By Lila James Roney. 81 p. Typed copy. Brooklyn, N. Y.

New York State. Kings Co. New York. By Henry R. Stiles. 1108 p. W. W. Munsell Co., Pubs. New York, 1884.

New York State. Kirkland, N. Y. History of Kirkland, New York. Published by Hurde and Houghton, New York, N. Y., 1874. 232 p.

New York State. Manors and Historic Homes of the Hudson Valley. By Harold Donaldson Eberlin. Philadelphia, Pa. J. B. Lippincott Co. 328 p. 1924.

New York State. Mount Ida Cemetery, N. Y. Inscriptions. Pub. at Troy, N. Y. Philip Schuyler Chapter D. A. R. 92 p. 1923.

New York State. Poughkeepsie, N. Y. Records of Christ Church, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. By Helen Wilkenson Reynolds. 440 p. New York. Frank B. Harvard, Pub. 1911.

New York State. Onandago Co. Onandago County, New York. By W. W. Clayton. Pub. Syracuse, N. Y. 430 p. D. Mason and Co., 1878.

New York State. Oswego County, N. Y. History. Pub. G. H. Everts Co. 458 p. 1877.

New York State. Washington County, N. Y. History. Gresham Pub. Co., Indiana, pubs. 436 p. 1894.

North Carolina State. Colonial Epitaphs. Book of Colonial Epitaphs. By Peter W. Meldrun. 472 p. Durham, N. C. 1924. Seeman Printing Co.

North Carolina State. County Records. Hand book of County Records. A report by D. L. Corbitt. Pub. by the North Carolina History Commission Bulletin No. 32. Raleigh, N. C. 45 p. 1925. Gives a list of the Counties in the state in which records have been preserved; these consist of marriage bonds, etc. There are 41 counties in which there is no material available. These counties are listed. All other counties are alphabetically arranged. The court houses were burned during the Civil War.

North Carolina State. Greensboro, N. C. Founders and Builders of Greensboro, N. C. 1808-1908. By Bettie D. Caldwell. 356 p. Greensboro, N. C. Jos. J. Stoner Co., Pubs. 1925.

North Carolina State. Warrenton, N. C. Sketches of Old Warrenton, N. C. By Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, Raleigh, N. C. Edwards, Broughton Co., Pub. 451 p. 1924.

North Carolina State. Wills of North Carolina. 1760-1800. Compiled by Fred A. Olds. 326 p. Oxford, N. C. 1925.

Ohio State. Belmont and Jefferson Counties, Ohio. By J. A. Caldwell. 611 p. Wheeling, W. Va. 1880. Historical Pub. Co.

Oregon State. Pioneer History of Coos and Curry Co., Oregon, by Orvil Dodge, Salem, Oregon. Capitol Print. 468 p. 1898.

Pennsylvania State. German and Swiss settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania, by Oscar Kuhns. New York. 268 p. Henry Holt & Co., Pubs. 1901.

Pennsylvania State. Lancaster, Pa. History of Town of Lancaster, Pa. By Abijah P. Marvin. 798 p. Pub. by the Town. 1879.

Pennsylvania State. Northampton, Lehigh, Monroe, Carbon and Schuylkill Counties, by Daniel J. Rupp. 568 p. Harrisburg, Pa. 1845. Hickok and Cantine Pubs.

Pennsylvania State. Schuylkill County, Pa. 2 vols. Pub. Chicago, Illinois. 1916. By J. H. Beers & Co.

Pennsylvania State. Tohickon Union Church, A History of. By William John Hinke. 483 p. Tribune Co. Pubs. Meadville, Pa.

South Carolina State. Warrants for lands in South Carolina. Compiled by A. S. Salley, Jr. 222 p. Columbia, S. C. 1910. The State Co. Pubs.

Rhode Island State. Marriages. Dr. Joseph Torrey and his record book of Marriages. Providence, R. I. 1925. 24 p. Historical Society.

Rhode Island State. Providence, Rhode Island. Index to births, marriages and deaths, Providence, R. I. Vol. 19. 3 Vols.

Pt. 1-3. 1911-1920. Compiled by Charles V. Chapin. 1925. Providence, R. I. City of Pubs.

Tennessee State. Nashville, Tenn. Early history of Nashville, by Lizzie P. Elliott. 286 p. Nashville, Tenn. 1911. Nashville, Tenn. Board of Education, pubs.

Tennessee State. Putnam Co., Tenn. History of Putnam Co., Tenn. By Walter S. McClain. 152 p. Nashville, Tenn. 1925. Quimby, Dyer & Co., Pubs.

Vermont State. Pittsford, Vt., History of. By A. M. Caverly. 750 p. Rutland, Vt. 1872. Tuttle Co., Pubs.

Vermont State. Townville. First Hundred Years of Townville. By Mary Ann Bidwell Higby. 136 p. Rutland, Vt. 1924. Tuttle Co., Pubs.

Virginia State. Albermarle, Va. The Albermarle of other days. By Mary Rawlings. 146 p. Charlottesville, Va. 1925. Michie Co., Pubs.

Virginia State. Diocese of Virginia. A Digest of proceedings of Conventions and Councils of Diocese of Virginia. T. Grayson Dashrell. 431 p. Richmond, Va. 1883. William Ellis Jones.

Virginia State. Massanutten settled by the Pennsylvania Pilgrim, 1726. The first white settlement in the Shenandoah Valley. By Harry M. Strickler. 183 p. Strasburg, Va. 1924. Printed by Shenandoah Publishing House.

Virginia State. Westmoreland County, Virginia. Wills of Westmoreland County, 1654-1800. Compiled by Augusta B. Fothengill. 229 p. Appeals Press, 1925.

FAMILY HISTORIES.

Alden Genealogy. Compiled by C. N. Sennett. Typed Copy. Fertile, Minn. 1925.

Brinton Genealogy. By Gilbert Cope. 800 p. Trenton, N. J. 1924. Mac Crellish & Quigley, Pubs.

Buford Family in America. Compiled by Mildred B. Minter. La Belle, Mo. 512 p. 1924.

Ewing Family. Dr. John Ewing and some of his noted connections. By Lucy E. Lee Ewing. Philadelphia, Pa. 135 p. Lane & Scott Pub. 1924.

Funston Family. Seven generations of the Funston Family. By Edward Bailey Funston, Racine, Wis. 73 p. 1925.

Gilmore Family. Gilmore Ancestry. Compiled by Pascal P. Gilmore. Bucksport, Me. 1925. Bucksport Print Co., n. p. Gift of Pascal P. Gilmore.

Graffenried Family. History of the de Graffenried Family. By Thomas P. de Graffenried. N. Y. 1925. Gift.

Heydecker Family. Genealogy of the Heydecker family. By Christian Townsend Heydecker. Privately printed. Waukegan, Ill. 66 p. 1925. Gift.

Holcombe Family. Holcombe Genealogy by Jesse Seaver. Philadelphia, Pa. American Historical and Genealogical Society, Pubs. 1925. 283 p.

Jackson, Beard and Allied Families. Compiled by Mary L. Jackson, 101 p. American Historical Society, Pubs. 1925. Gift of Mary L. Jackson. (One of our handsome gifts.)

Jackson Family. Stonewall Jackson, family and early life. By Roy B. Cook. 109 p. Richmond, Va. 1925. Old Dominion Press.

Johnson Family. Ancestry of Grafton Johnson, by Demaris Knobe. Indianapolis, Ind. 384 p. Hollenbeck Pub. Co. Gift of Grafton Johnson.

McClellan Genealogy. Compiled by Charles N. Sennett. Typed copy. 1926.

McKinley Family. Scotch Ancestors of President McKinley. 45 p. By E. Claypool, Chicago, 1897.

Madison Family. From the Times Dispatch. Richmond, Va. 1907. Gift.

Minns Family. Genealogical Histories of Minns and allied families by Ruth Lawrence. New York, N. Y. Harcourt Brace Co. 1926. Gift of Miss Susan Minns. (One of our fine, handsomely bound family histories.)

Otis Family. Otis family in America. Compiled by William A. Otis. Chicago, Ill. 408 p. 1924.

Renfrew-Black Genealogy. Compiled by James P. Renfrew. Alva, Oklahoma, 1925. 117 p. Alva Record Print.

Reynolds Family Association. Annual Report. 1922. 280 p. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1922. Brooklyn Eagle Press.

Sayles and Allied Families. Compiled by Mary Barr Ames Sayles. N. Y. American Historical Society Pubs. 117 p. N. Y. 1925. Gift of Mary Barr Ames Sayles. (One of our handsomely bound family histories.)

Southern Families. Notable Southern Families. Vol. 4. The Sevier family. Compiled by Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1926. 325 p. Lookout Pub. Co.

Ward Family. William Ward Genealogy. By Charles Maylyn. Pub. N. Y. By Artemus Ward. 749 p. 1925. Gift.

Washington Family. Mount Vernon and the Washington family. Compiled by Chester Hale Sipe. 91 p. Butler, Pa. Ziegler Printing Co. 1925.

Woods Family. The Woods family from the Woods-McAffee Memorial Manuscript. Gift.

GENERAL WORKS.

American Women. Biographical Cyclopedia of American Women. Erma Conkling Lee, Editor. 304 p. New York, 1925. F. W. Lee Pub. Co.

Andersonville Prison. List of Union soldiers buried at Andersonville Prison. 74 p. New York. 1866. N. Y. Tribune, Pub.

Cambridge, England. Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials. St. Michael's Parish, Cambridge, England. By John Venn. MacMillan Co. Pubs. 1891.

Daughters of the American Revolution. Index to Rolls of Honor in Lineage Books. Daughters of the American Revolu-

tion. Vols. 41-80. 450 p. Washington, D. C. 1926. Judd and Ditweiler, Pubs.

Dictionary of Royal Lineage of Europe and other countries, by C. M. Allstrom. 760 p. Chicago. 1904.

Norwegian. History of the Norwegian People in America. By Olaf Morgan Norlie. 512 p. Minneapolis, Minn. Augsburg Press. 1925.

Revolutionary Soldiers. Four Revolutionary Soldiers and their descendants. Compiled by Eloise M. Roberts. 47 p. Avard, Oklahoma. 1924.

Swiss Emigrants. List of Swiss Emigrants in eighteenth century to America. By Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh. 243 p. Washington, D. C. 1925. National Genealogical Soc. Pubs.

United States, Census Reports. Gleanings from United States Census Reports. Evelyn B. Baldwin, Washington, D. C. 1926. Typed copy.

Washington, Order of. Lineage book of Order of Washington. Compiled by J. G. B. Bulloch, M. D. Place and Pub. not given.

If members of the Society know of any county histories of Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, which we can secure, please notify us and we will try to purchase them for our collection. The southern states have published but few county histories. We have been able to secure some of them, but are always on the lookout for others. If you know of any family histories being compiled, please let us know and we will get in touch with the compiler.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGIA L. OSBORNE,

Chairman Genealogical Committee, Illinois State Historical Society.

PROGRAM
The Nineteenth Annual Convention
of the
MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
(Together with the Teachers' Section)
and the
Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting
of the
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
May 6, 7 and 8, 1926
Thursday, Friday and Saturday

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President: James A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Indiana.

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ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PROGRAM
Thursday, May 6, 10 a. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building
ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
10 O'Clock
Annual Business Meeting
10:45 O'Clock

The Shifting Cowtowns of Kansas—Louis Pelzer, State University of Iowa, Iowa City.

The Relations of the Primitive Cultures of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande—John Brainerd MacHarg, Lawrence College, Appleton, Wisconsin.
Mormon Life and Doctrines in Illinois and Utah 1840-1860—Willis G. Swartz, Sterling College, Sterling, Kansas.
Illinois Architecture—Thomas E. O'Donnell, University of Illinois, Urbana.

Thursday, May 6, 1 p. m.
Parlor Floor, Hotel Abraham Lincoln
Mississippi Valley Historical Association Executive Committee Meeting

Thursday, May 6, 2 p. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building
Mississippi Valley Historical Association
James A. Woodburn, Presiding

Address of Welcome on behalf of the Lincoln Centennial Association—Logan Hay, President, Springfield, Illinois.
The Life of the Common Soldier in the Union Army 1861-1865—Fred A. Shannon, Iowa State Teachers' College, Cedar Falls.
Songs—Miss Katherine Quinn.
The Literary Motive in the Writing of History—A discussion on the basis of the article by Homer C. Hockett in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1926; led by Winfred T. Root, State University of Iowa, Iowa City.
General Discussion—Limited to five minutes for each speaker.
Illustrative Review Lincoln's Latest Biographer—M. M. Quaife, Detroit, Michigan.
Summary—Homer C. Hockett, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

Thursday, May 6, 6 p. m.
Ball Room, Hotel Abraham Lincoln
Subscription Dinner.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association
James A. Woodburn, Presiding

Thursday, May 6, 8 p. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building
Joint Session of The Illinois State Historical Society and
The Mississippi Valley Historical Association

Dr. O. L. Schmidt, Chicago, President Illinois State Historical Society, Presiding.
Music—Illinois—Mrs. Gary Westenberger.
Songs—Mr. Gilbert H. Quigley.
Address—*Western Radicalism in American Politics*—James A. Woodburn, Bloomington, Indiana; President, Mississippi Valley Historical Association.

9:30 p. m.—Reception
Illinois State Historical Library

Friday, May 7, 10 a. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building
Illinois State Historical Society

Sarah Bush Lincoln, the Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln—Louis A. Warren, Zionsville, Indiana.
Charles S. Zane—A Rare Judicial Service—John M. Zane, Chicago.
Abraham Lincoln and the Tradition of American Civil Liberty—Arthur C. Cole, Ohio State University, Columbus.

Friday, May 7, 12 noon
Main Dining Room, Hotel Abraham Lincoln
Subscription Luncheon
Mississippi Valley Historical Association
James A. Woodburn, Presiding

American Historical Association Endowment—Solon J. Buck, Executive Secretary, American Historical Association Endowment Fund.
The George Rogers Clark Sesqui-centennial—William Fortune, Indianapolis.

1:30 p. m.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association—Business Meeting

Friday, May 7, 2:30 p. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building

Teachers' Section of The Mississippi Valley Historical Association

Chairman: Louise Welch, Head of Department of Social Science, Springfield High School, Presiding.

Possibilities of Teaching World History in the Ninth Grade—Nellie Jackson, Head of Department of History, Detroit Teachers' College.

Songs—Miss Emma Sheffler.

The Teaching of History and the Social Studies as a Field of Research—A. C. Krey, University of Minnesota.

The Old and New in History Teaching—Albert H. Sanford, State Normal School, LaCrosse, Wis.

The Diary of an Itinerant Preacher as Source Material—Julie Koch, Roosevelt High School, St. Louis.

Friday, May 7, 2:30 p. m.
The Lincoln Room, Centennial Memorial Building
Conference of State Historical Agencies and Historical Societies

Friday, May 7, 4:30 p. m.
The Governor's Mansion

Reception to Members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and The Illinois State Historical Society
By Governor Len Small and his daughter, Mrs. A. E. Inglesh

Friday, May 7, 8 p. m.
Auditorium, Centennial Memorial Building

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, James A. Woodburn, Presiding

William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812—Beverly W. Bond, Jr., University of Cincinnati.

Songs—Mrs. Ruth Becket Denny.

The Federal Civil Service under President Jackson—E. M. Erickson, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Illinois to Oregon in 1852—C. A. Duniway, Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota.

Saturday, May 8, 9:00 a. m.
Automobile Trip to New Salem

Arranged by The Illinois State Historical Society
Automobiles leave Abraham Lincoln Hotel for New Salem at 9:00 a. m.

Saturday, May 8, 12 noon
New Salem

Luncheon for Members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association
Given by The Illinois State Historical Society

*Mr. Donald Robertson will read a poem on Abraham Lincoln.

Address—*Abraham Lincoln*—Rev. Wm. E. Barton, Foxboro, Mass.

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*Ill—not able to be present.

PART II

Papers Read at the Annual Meeting May 6-7, 1926

THE SHIFTING COW TOWNS OF KANSAS*.

By Louis Pelzer,

The State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

When Abilene received the first herd of Texas cattle in 1867 the first of the great cattle marts in Kansas was established. The drovers, foremen, and cowboys whose 35,000 cattle entered Abilene in various herds that year found a frontier hamlet of log huts, saloons, stockyards, and the new shipping facilities which enabled about 1,000 cars of stock to be shipped eastward. Here, too, was the Drovers' Cottage, a three-story hotel, where Texas drovers and northern buyers met to discuss prices and shipments as well as the progress of the northerly drives.[1]

A herd of six hundred steers from Lockhart, Texas, in charge of M. A. Withers reached Abilene on July 1, 1868, after a journey of three months. A camp was established on Chapman Creek, twelve miles north of the village. Four of the eight hands were then discharged and the others remained to herd the steers until fall. The cattle were in fine condition when sold at $28.00 per head.[2] W. K. McCoy and Bros., who purchased the herd, later estimated that the Texas drives brought 75,000 cattle to Abilene in 1868. These were sold to Indian contractors, by ranchmen from the territories of Utah, Colorado, and Montana, and by speculators from Iowa, Nebraska, Illinois, and other places.[3]

A great invasion of cattle estimated at 150,000, came to Abilene in 1869, and the hamlet became a scene of noisy activity. Day after day during the summer the few hundred inhabitants watched the dusty herds trailing over the prairies. At the station arose a never ending noise of hoofs and of empty and loaded cars. All day the scales received and discharged the terrified longhorns. At the few stores there was a brisk trade in articles ranging from camp supplies to spurs and star-spangled boots. About this time four Texas cowboys and two California Spaniards roped ten buffalo which were to be shipped eastward to advertise Abilene as a shipping point. Four died of the heat, three others became sullen and died, and only three arrived in Chicago in good condition.[4]

Thousands of cattle continued to arrive at Abilene in 1870 and 1871. Sometimes from a hilltop thirty or forty, or even fifty thousand head could be seen at one time. The latter year was stormy, the grass washy, and stampedes were very frequent.

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*For financial aid in the collection of material for this chapter the writer is indebted to Armour and Company at Chicago.

Freight rates were high between Chicago and the east, so that Abilene became glutted with large numbers of poor stock. It was estimated that 300,000 unsold cattle were driven west to forage upon the buffalo grass. It was further estimated that a quarter of a million cattle died from cold and starvation. One firm had placed nearly 4,000 to range near the Republican River, but in the spring only 110 living cattle could be found. Carcasses rotted on the plains were devoured by the wolves or were skinned for the hides. At one railway station nearly 50,000 hides were collected and shipped to the east.[5]

For miles and miles around Abilene almost every foot of soil was trodden by the Texas cattle. Water was a prime requisite and the valleys of Mud Creek, Chapman Creek, and Turkey Creek and their tributaries became prize camping and grazing places. Here drovers and buyers would inspect the herds and bargain over prices. The camps were scenes of well-earned rest and confusion after the long drives. Here the old rickety mess wagon was relieved of its cargo—"a lot of saddles and horse blankets, a camp-kettle, coffee-pot, bread pan, battered tin cups, a greasy mess chest, dirty soiled blankets, an ox yoke, a log chain, spurs and quirts, a coffee mill, a broken-helved ax, bridles, picket-ropes, and last but not least, a side or two of mast-fed bacon, to which add divers pieces of raw hide in various stages of dryness."[6]

During the Texas cattle trade at Abilene a carnival of crime and lawlessness prevailed. Desperadoes, thieves, gamblers, and courtesans flocked like vultures to the cattle market. The sheriff's office was indifferent, but in September, 1869, the hamlet was incorporated and a local government was organized. In the next spring, T. C. Henry, the chairman of the board of trustees, was clothed with wide powers and began the task of establishing law and order. Thirty-two saloons existed, firearms were carried everywhere, and vice and crime flourished. A jail was started but a crowd of cowboys tore down its walls, but under a strong guard the place was soon rebuilt. A negro cook for a trail herd was the first occupant but the trail drivers burst down the door, rescued their cook, and thereby their daily meals. One marshal after another resigned in despair and two policemen imported from St. Louis were so amazed and cowed by the lawlessness that they forsook the town on the next train home.[7]

Then Mr. Henry appointed in May, 1870, a quiet, reticent man, Thomas J. Smith, as marshal of Abilene. His tact and personal courage reduced crime and won the respect of merchants, saloonkeepers, cowboys, and gamblers. In November following, while assisting a deputy in arresting a desperate character he was shot dead. He was buried with honors and with manifestations of the deepest grief among the citizens of Abilene. Thirty-four years later they erected a monument to his memory which declared him "a fearless hero of frontier days, who in cowboy chaos established the supremacy of law."

His successor was James Butler Hickok, the "Wild Bill" of novels and romantic tales, and a man more proficient as a marksman than as a marshal. In 1871 the number of cattle driven to Abilene exceeded that of any previous year, and crime, disorder, and shame eclipsed the worst that had been known. The citizens of the town and the farming population then combined to resist the traffic in cattle at Abilene which in every season had tramped upon the grain and corn fields for miles around. In 1872 the "Farmers' Protective Association of Dickinson County" was formed. A circular was sent broadcast to Texas and the southern range country in February requesting the drovers "to seek some other point for shipment, as the inhabitants of Dickinson will no longer submit to the evils of the trade."[8]

Meanwhile railway construction and the struggle for grazing areas were causing other cow towns to spring up. Baxter Springs and Coffeyville had a brief season of the rough cattle trade. The coming of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad to Newton in 1871, created a cattle market and a shipping point for a year. Further railway construction in 1872 attracted cattle herds to Wichita and Great Bend where the harpies of former cow towns found new, though temporary havens. Other towns such as Ellsworth and Hayes City received Texas herds but never became the famous markets or the notorious towns of the earlier years.[9]

But for about ten years Dodge City was the greatest cattle market of the world. This town situated on the 100th meridian, three hundred and sixty-three miles west of Kansas City, was laid out in July, 1872, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad reached there in September following. Here in the next few years was the meeting place of freighters, hunters, and government teams. Enormous quantities of buffalo hides and meat were assembled here and shipped away. Hundreds of wagons blocked the streets until they departed with their cargoes to the far west and to the frontier towns and army posts.[10]

When the great cattle drives to Dodge City began in 1875 it became the great market for the southwestern frontier, embracing western Kansas, eastern Colorado, and Indian Territory, the Territory of New Mexico, and Texas. In that year and the next about a quarter million cattle came to it and for the next decade it was dominated by the Texas trade. As a receiving and a distributing point, Dodge City became the preeminent cow town of the West.[11]

Prosperity in Dodge City came quickly. In 1877, millions of pounds of supplies were transferred from the rail trains to the hundreds of mule and ox trains which invaded it from every direction. Immense quantities of supplies went to the army posts at Fort Elliott and Fort Supply. Thousands of pounds of dried buffalo meat were bought and sold. To this village of about 1,200 there came about 250,000 Texas cattle in 1877, and its six or seven general stores, its bakeries, drug stores, butcher

shops, blacksmith shops, and the nineteen gilded saloons, seventy-five to one hundred feet long, vibrated with energy during the season of the drive from Texas.[12] "Dodge City," wrote a trail driver, "was then a wide-open town. Gambling and fandangoes were in full blast. While we were there two men were killed in a saloon row."[13]

Seventy-seven herds containing 168,500 cattle passed Fort Griffin during the eight weeks ending May 28, 1878. Three of these herds belonging to Woodward and Oge were destined for Dodge City, but the third herd, numbering 1,950 mixed cattle and driven by Virgil Johnson was finally delivered at Ogallala, Nebraska. Other notable drivers this year were James Ellison, John Lytle, Dillard R. Fant, W. H. Day and Millet and Dewess.[14] Their herds would generally be grazed near Dodge City until sold and then dispersed to stock ranches and to ranges in Kansas and Nebraska. The Texas newspapers chronicled the movements of northbound drives, giving the names of the owners and bosses, and the number and destination of the herds. In every season the editors paid tribute to Dodge City as a great western cattle market.

Although a slight decrease came in 1879 in the northerly movement of the Texas cattle, Dodge City, northern Texas, and Ogallala again had their brisk cattle trade. James F. Ellison drove at least three herds northward.[15] Two herds combined and numbering 5,500 were driven to Ogallala under the direction of a foreman, Richard Withers, whose outfit contained nine cowboys, a cook, and a horse wrangler. This was perhaps the largest herd that passed through Dodge City that season. At Dodge City three additional men were employed to take the cattle on their eighteen-day journey to Ogallala. There Ellison met his herd which was delivered to a purchaser on the North Platte River.[16]

Sixty-six firms listed in the *Ford County Globe* of Dodge City of March, 1880, were expected to bring 294,000 cattle northward that season. These herds varied in size from 1,200 to 6,000, and were to be delivered to points in the Indian Territory, to the Territory of Wyoming, and to places in Colorado, Nebraska, and Kansas. Over 200,000 had arrived in Dodge City by June 25, when there were fifty-four cattle firms registered in that place. The last 1,100 of Louis Oge's herd of 6,000 was sold to a man from Cass County, Missouri. A special stock train of twenty cars left Dodge City in September and in the remarkably fast run of twenty-four hours arrived at Kansas City.[17]

The rainy season of 1881, it is likely, lessened somewhat the numbers in the northerly drive of that year. Nearly thirteen inches of rain fell near Dodge City in May, rendering the grass soft and washy. Five inches of rain in July likewise did not improve the grazing ranges about Dodge City. Heavier drives came in 1882 when the seasonal exodus from Texas numbered over 200,000. There, fifty herds were started for Dodge City,

while others went to the Territory of New Mexico, to Colorado, and to the well-known cow town of Ogallala.[18]

The *Texas Live Stock Journal* of Fort Worth, in January, 1883, estimated the drive from Texas at 220,000 for that season. Of these, 140,000 were to be yearlings, 55,000 two-year olds, and the balance three-year olds and female cattle. It was estimated that nearly half of the drive would go to Dodge City and Ogallala to be sold for ranch purposes. On the Texas ranches the yearlings cost from $10.50 to $12.50, the two-year olds, $14.50 to $16.50, and the three-year old steers from $18 to $19.[19]

The enormous number of 300,000 moved in 106 herds constituted the northerly procession of Texas cattle in 1884 to Dodge City. The first herd arrived on May 26, and the last on August 15. One of the largest herds, as reported by Brand Inspectors Rhodes and Taylor, was that owned by Captain Richard King, and numbering 3,965. From July 17 to December 1 of that year 3,648 cars of beeves were shipped from Dodge City to Kansas City and Chicago.[20]

The trade in Texas cattle profoundly influenced the moral, social, and economic life of the frontier village of Dodge City as it had of Abilene a decade earlier. "There was a general pandering to the Lone Star sentiment, and lone stars abounded in all sizes and hues. Saloons, cheap clothing-shops, 'hotels,' dance-houses, and various other outfits bore the Lone Star trademark."[21]

To the firm of Wright Beverley and Company the Texans came for their jingling spurs, their carved ivory-handled Colts, or their suits of velveteen. A room thirty by fifty feet on the second floor of their store was devoted to clothing and saddlery. In the warehouse and yard from sixty to eighty thousand buffalo robes and hides could be found in 1878. A banking department was conducted and in another place jewelry and firearms were for sale. Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians made purchases at this store and over a dozen men were employed to check off the goods to be transported in wagons.[22] The Dodge City and Panhandle Stage owned by P. G. Reynolds and the United States mail line ran between these two places in 1878.[23] And from Dodge City a regular line of freighters ran to Camp Supply in Indian Territory and Fort Elliott in Texas.

Of the 2,160 people living in the county in 1878 about 648 lived in Dodge City and the others in the country. "Until recently," wrote an observer about this time, "the community has been made up in part by the class of people who properly belong to the frontier; but the prospects of agricultural advancement and the natural tendency of immigration to fill up the border counties have brought many intelligent and worthy residents into the community."[24]

"Some came to Dodge City out of curiosity;" wrote a resident, "others strictly for business; the stockman came because it was a great cattle market, and here, in the Arkansas river,

was the place appointed for the cattle going north to be classed and passed on, for bargains to be closed, and new contracts made for next year; the cowboy came because it was his duty as well as his delight, and here he drew his wages and spent them; the hunter came because it was the very heart of the greatest game country on earth; the freighter came because it was one of the greatest overland freight depots in the United States, and he hauled material and supplies for nearly four hundred miles, supplying three military posts, and all the frontier for that far south and west; last but not least, the gambler and the bad man came because of the wealth and excitement, for obscene birds will always gather around a carcass."[25]

Religious organizations were neither numerous nor prominent in the frontier town of Dodge City in 1878. A Baptist group contained twenty-eight members; two residents were Episcopalians; forty-five belonged to the Methodist church; a Presbyterian group numbered fifteen; but the two Catholic organizations had a membership of five hundred. "Dodge City," wrote a minister the next year, "is not noted for its virtue. Being the center of the Texas cattle trade it has all the accompaniments." But, he pointed out, the union of some of the churches was spreading the leaven among the masses.[62]

During the driving season the social and the business barometers registered high. The Cox Hotel and the Dodge House became the homes of drovers, buyers, and railroad men where the rooms reechoed with the discussions over beeves, cows, and steers. Such talk became even more animated in those places where men forgot their worries and hardships. "The 'Alamo' ", said an observer of 1877, "is presided over by a reformed Quaker from New York, and it is hinted that the manner in which he concocts a toddy * * * increases the value of a Texas steer two dollars and seventy-five cents."[27]

Names of men notable in the Texas trade appear in the roster of visitors at Dodge City during the spring drives. James F. Ellison, who, for eleven years had driven cattle up the trail, was a Confederate veteran and in June, 1880, was waiting for his herd of 3,000.[28] In the same month appeared his Confederate comrade and his former partner, John O. Dewess. John R. Blocker, while waiting for his herd of 4,500 bound for Cheyenne, perhaps reminded his fellow cattlemen of his first drive in 1873.[29] Captain John T. Lytle, a veteran Confederate cavalryman, also registered in Dodge City in June, 1880, and had a record of having directed the northerly movement of thousands of Texas cattle. Four years before he had opened a trail from Fort Griffin to Dodge City, a distance of four or five hundred miles.[30] Major Seth Mabry, another drover, would spend a day in the saddle and then in the evening come to town. Then the major dressed up like a dandy, "waltzed, pirouetted, took part in every dance and was the beau of the ball." Financially, he was

not a success like so many other cattlemen whose names are scattered from the Canadian line to the Gulf of Mexico.[31]

R. G. Head in June, 1880, was waiting in Dodge City for the two herds of Head and Bishop, destined for Nebraska and the Territory of Wyoming. He was pointed out as an example of rising success in the cattle trade. Beginning on a salary of $30 per month he rose to the full management of the trail business of Colonel John J. Myers. For seven years he had driven cattle to Abilene, Wichita, Great Bend, Ellsworth, and Dodge City in Kansas. Other herds were delivered at Cheyenne, Salt Lake City, to points in the Territory of Nevada, to California, and to various Indian agencies in the Black Hills and on the upper Missouri River.[32]

A noteworthy shipment of cattle from Dodge City was that of three hundred and eighty-nine cars of beef cattle by W. E. Anderson and O. H. Nelson of Burlingame, Kansas, in 1881. These 7,789 cattle bought for $291,000 were shipped over the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad and sold at Kansas City. In March of the next year another active buyer in the Dodge City markets was A. H. or "Gus" Johnson, who in the following year was the manager of four cattle companies.[33]

Veteran drovers and buyers appeared among the sixty or seventy cattlemen registered in Dodge City in 1882. Henry Collar's ranch was located in Comanche County, where he was known as "Hi" Collar. Three Choate brothers from Texas were still driving herds from the south. None could fail to be impressed by the portly frame of A. H. or "Shanghai" Pierce, a native of Rhode Island, who in dramatic and powerful voice recounted stories of the Texas trail or his experiences in Texas where he had lived until grand juries had become too vexatious. L. M. Kokernut, another trail driver, was the son of a Jewish family of Amsterdam. After serving in the Mexican War he engaged in the cattle business, and for many years had been delivering herds at Dodge City. Such men constituted the solid element in the vanishing cattlemen's frontier in the early eighties.[34]

The cattle trade created for Dodge City a reputation for wickedness not uncommon on the frontier and not surpassed by that of other cow towns. While there was much of life that was orderly, respectable, and even prosaic, there were reasons why visitors left lurid accounts of "The Beautiful, Bibulous Babylon of the Frontier" and of the "Wickedest Town in America." A citizen of the town wrote: "There were women, dance halls, music, saloons and restaurants, equipped with every luxury, while gambling in every conceivable form, and every gambling device known at that time was in full blast."[35] Like other frontier towns, Dodge City had its "Boot Hill" where lay buried men and women of violence and sin.

Other visitors saw the beginnings of a better state of things in Dodge City. The town was defended by its newspapers whose

news items and descriptions of the trade carefully crowded out many a sensational, violent event. "But, in extenuation of the conduct of her early inhabitants," wrote the historian of this cow town, "I plead the newness of the territory, the conditions of life, the dangers and associations of a western frontier, and the daring and reckless spirit that such conditions engender."[36]

In November, 1877, Bob Shaw and Texas Dick, alias Moore, engaged in a desperate battle of six-shooters with Marshal Edward J. Masterson in the Lone Star dance hall. All were wounded but the marshal, transferring his weapon from his wounded, paralyzed right arm to his left, held the cowboys at bay until help came. "Nobody was killed," said the local paper, "but, for a time, it looked as though the undertaker and the coroner would have something to do."[37]

In the following April six cowboys were dancing and drinking in a saloon—likely the one called the "Old House." Masterson attempted to disarm Jack Wagner and a scuffle ensued. A quick volley of shots was fired and the cowboys then rushed from the dance hall. Wagner had been shot through the lungs and twice through the arm, but was able to run into Peacock's saloon. When dying he confessed that he had shot the marshal. Four cowboys were arrested but after a full and fair investigation before Judge R. G. Cook, were discharged, being blamed only for having been in bad company.

Masterson, mortally wounded, was carried to his brother William's room. There the wounded man told his story and bade his brother an affectionate farewell. During the funeral ceremonies the stores of Dodge City were closed, a mournful procession marched to his grave, and the city council and other civic organizations passed resolutions extolling his character and services.[38]

But such scenes, although only too numerous, can hardly be said to represent more than the roughest days of the frontier cattle town. Visitors, residents, and cowboys were privileged to witness pleasanter scenes. President Hayes came to Dodge City in 1879 and with him General W. T. Sherman, whose speech drew rousing cheers from an audience of which southern partisans made up over one-half. A cowboy band was organized in 1881 which soon gained a national reputation as much from the uniforms worn as the melodies rendered. The next year it furnished the music at a cattlemen's ball at which, it was estimated, the stockmen represented wealth equal to $50,000,000.[39]

A unique entertainment at Dodge City on July 4, 1884, was witnessed by the trail outfits of John Blocker, Dillard R. Fant, and the Snyder Brothers, whose herds had arrived during the first few days of that month. On that day the town was crowded with cattlemen and cowboys who, temporarily at least, forsook the gambling houses, dance halls, and saloons to witness a real Mexican bullfight in a specially prepared arena of forty acres.

Cowboy Killer, Lone Star, Rustler, Iron Gall, Klu Klux, and seven other untamed bulls were to meet five famous bull fighters from Mexico. When the matadors and pecadors entered the arena, the first bull was shot full of darts, showing considerable fight, but was finally driven out. The second was a coward, and the third, fourth, and fifth in turn were not much better.

Then a vicious bull was brought in to meet Captain Gregorio Gallardo, who was descended from a famous Spanish bull fighter and carried a Toledo blade one hundred and fifty years old. The Mexican's escape from the long horns became narrower and narrower. Finally the band played for the swording. Gallardo then took his blade and after several attacks and counter attacks stabbed the bull in the right shoulder. The bull died slowly as noisy cheers and the crash of music sounded over the plains. "Take it all in all," said the local editor, "Dodge City considers its worth of keeping the Fourth a great success."[40]

But symptoms of the waning greatness and glory of Dodge City as a cow town were already apparent in 1884. The Kansas granger was pushing westward and seizing the live water. Early the next year a quarantine law against Texas cattle was passed. The extension of railroad lines was affording other places for loading and for the eastward shipments of stock. In 1885 Ford County, of which Dodge City was the county seat, was checkered with fields of barley, wheat, corn, millet, oats, and numerous orchards—many of which were enclosed by wire fences. Its 47 school districts, 17 church organizations, 17 post offices and the 6 civil divisions containing a population of 7,778, are the prosaic proof of the passing of a rough and perhaps romantic cattlemen's frontier at Dodge City. Two years later each section of land contained nearly seven people.[41]

The youth of Texas who had come to Dodge City in their saddles were, like birds of the plains, unaccustomed to the restraints of the invading grangers. The Texan, "a child of the frontier, handy with his gun, did not understand the changing days west of the 100th Meridian and he died hard."[42] To-day wheatfields, stacks of hay, and grain elevators occupy old bedding grounds of Texas herds and mark the settlers' conquest of the plains. Where noisy horsemen galloped in Abilene and Dodge City, and where longhorns trailed over dusty roads are now paved streets and homes. Only a few residents remain who can recall Joseph G. McCoy, Wild Bill, the Drovers' Cottage, the Dodge House, and the days when grass was king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

[1]McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 44, 50, 51.

[2]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, Vol. I, p. 83.

[3]McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 124, 131.

[4]McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 131, 180, 181, 202;
Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, Vol. I, pp. 84-87.

[5]McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 226-228.

[6]McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, p. 131.

[7]*Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry of the United States, with Outlines of the Origin and Ancient History of our Live Stock Animals*, Vol. I, pp. 509, 510.

This was the only volume of the three projected and was prepared by authority of the National Live Stock Association and published by that body at Denver and Kansas City. Copyright 1904 and 1905. The author of the historical sections of the book is Jerome C. Smiley of Denver.

[8]*Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry*, pp. 509-513;
Henry, T. C., *Thomas James Smith* in the *Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 1905-1906, Vol. IX, pp. 526-532.

[9]*Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry*, 514, 515.

[10]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, 9, 10, 259.

[11]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, 260.

[12]*Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. I, No. 3, January 15, 1878;
Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, 260-262.

[13]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, I, 234.

[14]*Commercial Indicator*, (Kansas City), Vol. I. No. 11, June 13, 1878;
Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, Vol. I, 234.

[15]*Kansas City Commercial Indicator*, Vol. II, No. 67, July 10, 1879.

[16]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, Vol. I, 282-285.

[17]*Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. III, Nos. 12, 17, 26, 28, 33, 38, March 12, April 27, June 29, July 13, August 17, September 21, 1880.

[18]Nimmo, Joseph, *The Range and Ranch Cattle Business of the United States*, p. 213; printed as Part III by the Bureau of Statistics in *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States*, 1886. *Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. V, No. 24, June 13, 1882.

[19]*Texas Live Stock Journal*, (Fort Worth), Vol. III, No. 38, January 13, 1883.

[20]*Western Central Kansas Cowboy*, (Dodge City), Vol. I, Nos. 43, 46, June 28, July 19, 1884; Vol. II, Nos. 1, 15, September 6, December 13, 1884.

[21]*Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry*, p. 515.

[22]Quoted from the *Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), in Robert M. Wright's *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 157, 158.

[23]*Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. I, No. 48, November 26, 1878.

[24]*First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture Kansas for the Years 1877-1878*, (Second Edition), 213-216.

[25]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 154, 155.

[26]*First Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture Kansas for the Years 1877-1878*, (Second Edition), 213-216; Reverend Adam Holm in the *Western Christian Advocate* as reprinted in the *Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. II, No. 26, June 24, 1879.

[27]Quoted in Robert M. Wright's *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 264, 265.

[28]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, I, 432, 433, *Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. III, No. 25, June 22, 1880.

[29]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, I, p. 292; *Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. III, No. 3, June 22, 1880.

[30]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, I, p. 290; *Prose and Poetry of the Live Stock Industry*, 661.

[31]Clay, John, *My Life on the Range*,
Live Stock Markets, Vol. XXXII, No. 32, November 16, 1922.

[32]Hunter, J. Marvin, *The Trail Drivers of Texas*, Vol. II, 186, 187.

[33]*Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. V, No. 13, March 28, 1882.

[34]*Ford County Globe*, (Dodge City), Vol. V, No. 23, June 6, 1882;
McCoy, Joseph G., *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, pp. 141-143;
Texas Live Stock Journal, Vol. III, No. 26, October 14, 1882.

[35]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, p. 155.

[36]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, p. 6.

[37]Quoted from the *Dodge City Times* of November 10, 1877, in Robert M. Wright's *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 305, 306.

[38]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, p. 307; *Ford County Globe*, Vol. I, No. 16, April 16, 1878.

[39]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 292, 293; 322, 323.

[40]Wright, Robert M., *Dodge City the Cowboy Capital*, pp. 242, 243; a full account is reprinted from the *New York Herald* in the *Kansas Cowboy*, (Dodge City), Vol. I, No. 45, July 12, 1884.

[41]*Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture Kansas, 1885-1886*, Vol. X, pp. 224-229; *Sixth Biennial Report of the State Board of Agriculture Kansas, 1887-1888*, Vol. XI, pp. 156-161.

[42]Clay, John, *My Life on the Range*, in *Live Stock Markets*, Vol. XXXII, No. 32, November 16, 1922.

RELATIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CULTURES OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE RIO GRANDE.

By John Brainerd Mac Harg
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The study of Archaeology, Anthropology, and Ethnology, seems to me wise for the historiker, that he may see the place of present civilization in the grand march of life since its beginning. Imagine, if you will, a chart six feet high upon a screen before you, showing what we know of the development of man, and to help us we may give him names—Eoanthropus, Pithecanthropus, Piltdown, Neandertal, Heidelberg, Cro-Magnon, et ceteri. With these men, interesting though they are, we are not concerned, for they lived their lives in another hemisphere, and their descendants after many years seem to have come to America. Ameghino, we all know, thinks there is evidence that the cradle of the race was in his homeland, South America, but his views have not found favor. It is worth while to guess how long man lived before he attained a considerable civilization. Somewhere between 100,000 and 600,000 years probably. Our problems of American Archaeology are concerned with a period reaching, so far, not much back of 2,000 B. C., therefore if our chart has six feet of vertical extent representing say 400,000 years we are concerned with but 1/200 of it, just the thickness of the line at the bottom of the chart. And another line, not quite so thick, will represent all of civilization, in the era we are wont to call Christian. How long did it take—God, I'll say, since we're not far from Tennessee,—to make most primitive man? One hundred million (100,000,000) years, maybe; and a chart must be 250 times as long to represent this period. If the six foot chart represents the 400,000 years of primitive man, then, a chart more than a quarter of a mile high will be needed for 100 million years of his evolution, or if one page of this book of life which I hold in my hand, represents the development of primitive man, then we shall need the 250 pages which follow to tell of his evolution. There are those who would add five or ten similar volumes to tell the story of evolution, for they place life's beginning not 100 million, but 500 or 1,000 million years ago.

It is generally accepted, I believe, that in the realm of biology, heredity is more important than environment. This suggests that the influence of all the events of prehistoric existence have had a very great influence upon man, which we know, of course, but sometimes we do not feel it and appreciate it.

We shall not consider further, however, the making of man

nor his development and movements in the most primitive periods. Howsoever, they came to be, and to be here, our study has to do with the primitive inhabitants of the central portions of the present territory of the U. S., in comparatively recent times. We shall consider just the last two thousand years or so, which seems fairly remote if our daily task be to teach Contemporary American History with emphasis upon the World War.

Before we can attempt consideration of possible relations of primitive cultures we must know something of them. Let us first turn our attention to the Mound-Builders.

It seems to me well worth while for anyone who has not done so, at least to turn carefully, the pages of the massive volumes of the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, especially volumes 1, 2, and 7, which, with their wealth of illustration, sum up the knowledge gained by early investigators. They show much that cannot easily be seen today, and mounds that cannot be readily and surely located because of the obliterating influences of civilization, especially those of the farmer's plow and spade. But very much remains of great interest and importance. And mounds are of serious every day concern to some citizens of our country. The Beloit Freshman who treads the sacred soil of the mounds preserved upon the college campus, is liable to be paddled for his carelessness.

It was once the fashion, apparently, for our American Indians to build mounds. Just when and why they began this practice, we can not answer with assurance, but from articles of European origin found in some of the mounds, we know that for a time, at least, mounds were built after the advent of the white man. The art forms, too, of their handicraft, show definite connection with that of present-day Indian.

Where are the mounds and what are they like? Well, most of them are in the valleys of the Mississippi river system, with especially interesting examples, in Ohio and Wisconsin. To describe them is not so easy, but an attempt at classification may help.

1. *Conical Mounds,* probably the most numerous, and surely the highest. There are very spectacular examples of this type still to be seen along the Mississippi, in Ohio, and elsewhere, and they really vie with the pyramids of Egypt in monumental importance; their sepulchral chambers and old time treasures are tremendously impressive.

2. *The Platform Mounds.* Most mounds of this type are found in the southern states where they are very abundant. There are thousands of these truncated pyramids of great dimensions, geometrical in form and location, with extensive avenues of approach. $\frac{(SCK\text{-}I)}{104}$ They closely resemble the teocalli (Nahuatl. $\angle$ "teotl," a god, plus "calli," a house.) of Mexico. Examples of this form of mound are comparatively rare in the North. An interesting example combined with an Enclosure, is found near the little cross-roads town of Aztalan, Wisconsin.

An old atlas shows an Aztec street, even though the modern residents do not seem to be familiar with the name. The remains are still worth seeing though they have suffered much from the leveling influences of agriculture and natural erosion. There is fascination in the unknown, and the imagination is surely stimulated when standing in Wisconsin on the high set teocalli of Aztalan. More famous are the works of this character at Marietta, O., and your own Cahokia, $\frac{\text{(SCK-I)}}{174}$, which has had romance in its later history, in that the summit of the great pyramid has been the home and garden of the exiled Trappist Monks.

3. *Enclosures* for defense or ceremonial purposes. Most spectacular are those near Newark, Ohio, extending over hundreds of acres and just as thrilling to the writer, at least, as the avenues of sphinxes at Karnak and Luxor. Much more extensive is the well-known Fort Ancient of Warren Co., Ohio, thirty-five (35) miles northeast of Cincinnati. $\frac{\text{(SCK-I)}}{18}$. Today, thousands of men with modern machinery, would need months of time to do what the Mound-Builders of Ohio did with their hands and tools of stone. Ramparts, thousands of feet in extent, ten to thirty feet in height, outlining avenues, circles, and other geometrical figures, as well as miles of irregular walls, are still marvelous memorials of a very considerable civilization.

4. *Effigy Mounds.* These great animal pictures, ranging in height from a few inches to a few feet, are, by far, most numerous in Wisconsin. Gradual weathering and the ever busy plow have obscured most of them, but thousands can still be traced, and some of them are still sufficiently distinct to be of popular interest, especially, of course, those which have been preserved and protected. All things considered, perhaps the most striking effigy mound is the thousand foot serpent of Adams County, Ohio, but for extent of snakes, Appleton, Wisconsin, easily outdistances all competing localities. Five miles west of the city are the reputed remains of two monsters extending over half a mile. Edward Race, who owns most of one of them, tells me he remembers when it was at least four feet higher than at present. They are believed to be serpent mounds just as certainly as the more famous one of Ohio, but they are not so well preserved, and, therefore, of less popular interest.

I must note for truth's sake, that Mr. Race's memory is probably unduly generous toward his serpent. P. V. Lawson, a careful observer, gave its maximum height as thirty (30) inches in 1898, when he made the map now in the library of Menasha, Wisconsin.*

The so-called Elephant Mound of Grant County, Wisconsin, eight miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River, the Man

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**See*

Lawson, P. V.
History of Winnebago Co., Vol. I, p. 283;
Wisconsin Archaeologist, Vol. I, pp. 35, 36;
Oshkosh Northwestern, Sept. 3, 1908.

Mound, a few miles east of Baraboo, the Lynx Mound at Devil's Lake, are fairly well preserved effigies, and there are literally thousands of others, great earth pictures of birds and animals, which suggest endless subjects of speculation and study. The Milwaukee Museum is conspicious for its research, excavations and publications in this interesting field. Thousands of people in Wisconsin are living upon or near Effigy Mounds, without knowing the existence of these fascinating tokens of a departed culture.

Of course we'd like to know why Indians took the great trouble of clearing forests and of building these extensive earthworks. The purposes were many. The Conical Mounds and some others were used as places of burial, also as altars and perhaps, in some cases, for observation and signaling. The great enclosures of Ohio, and similar structures were probably for ceremonial purposes and for defense. The most likely purpose is often problematical. The effigies were probably expressions of religious superstitions, the animal represented being a totem of tribe or individual in their presumably animistic system of religion, but as Barrett has shown, "effigy mounds as well as conicals were used for mortuary and sacrificial purposes." BHKC-99.

If it were my purpose to describe mounds in general, I should try to give you a careful review of what competent archaeologists have learned of the civilizations, the material evidences of which I have tried briefly to catalogue.

Whetrone has worked out for Ohio a tentative classification and chronological order which follows in his own words:

"(1) The Algonquian group were the earliest, the most persistent and widely distributed, and the last to disappear, of Ohio's prehistoric peoples, and, therefore, were contemporaneous with all other groups present in the area: (2) the Fort Ancient and the (3) Hopewell groups were contemporaneous one with another, and their presence in the area lay within the limits of appearance and disappearance of the Algonquian group; the Adena group has not been sufficiently examined to produce evidence as to their time relations with other groups; the evidence for the (4) Stone Grave group points to contemporaneity with the Hopewell; and the (5) Iroquian group, arriving in the area in late prehistoric times, disappeared about the middle of the seventeenth century." $\frac{\text{(AA 22-2)}}{169}$

Barrett and Hawkes in their careful study of the Kratz Creek mound group of Wisconsin have found indications of two cultures. Shetrone, Moorehead, and others are continuing the work of a long line of scholars in gradually working out the history of the primitive people of the Mississippi watershed, and it is the work of these men that makes possible a tentative comparison of the cultures they have studied with those of another very different section of country.

The cultures of the Rio Grande under consideration in this paper, are those of the present territory of the U. S., which means, therefore, principally those of the state of New Mexico. The river flowing from North to South divided the state in halves. The Pecos River in the Eastern portion belongs to the same watershed and joins the Rio Grande after crossing western Texas.

Physiography, Geology, Climatology, Ethnobotany, and Ethnozoology, offer important materials for the student of primitive cultures, and it seems to me Bulletins 54, 55, 56, of the Bureau of American Ethnology would approach more nearly a place in the lists of books most in demand, if their fascinating contents were appreciated. In them, E. L. Hewett, J. Henderson, W. W. Robbins, J. P. Harrington, and B. Freire-Marreco have treated the subjects named as related to the Rio Grande. Without going into detail, it may be said that they have shown in general, very marked differences between the northern and southern portions of New Mexico, which are reflected in fairly distinct cultures of these contrasted areas. Indications of change of climate are also noteworthy. These cold, dry facts seem to me to cry out for some mention of the indescribably beautiful and fascinating country with which they are concerned. For background and popular description, there is rare enjoyment to be found in the books of C. H. Lummis, G. W. James, Mary Austin. If one desires diversion and authority at the same time, it is ready in the *Delight Makers* of Bandelier. But do not read these books if you do not wish to go to the Southwest, and remember if you do go, you will always go again. Maybe though it is worth while, for if once you have seen an ocatillo silhouetted against the clouds, fiery white and gold, you have paid up insurance against unhappiness.

It is comparatively easy to learn something of the primitive civilizations of the Rio Grande for Kidder in describing his fascinating Pecos, has given a general survey of *Southwestern Archaeology.* (Yale Press, 1924).

The publications of the Bureau of Ethnology, generous in giving its publications and index, the School of American Research at Santa Fé, the publications of the American Anthropological Association, and of other societies, as well as magazine articles and newspaper reports, make easily available for one who seeks, the records of the work of Fewkes at Mesa Verde, Hewett at Frijoles, of Judd at Bonito, of Kidder at Pecos, and of many others in fields of study equally important.

Before considering their findings as applied to the problem in question, let us briefly survey what is to be seen of primitive civilization in the valley of the Rio Grande.

First and most important the modern pueblos, whose inhabitants are often, we may believe, the descendants of the ancient cultures. Lummis has pointed out that in the Southwest archaeology may well wait, since its material objects of study

will change little with the years, but that we must make haste to catch it alive in the field of Ethnology for the pueblo Indians are rapidly leaving the ways of their far away ancestors. There is this marked difference between the primitive cultures of the Rio Grande and the Mississippi. Those of the former have in some cases been continuous for unknown centuries, while in Ohio, for instance, the old cultures succeeding those of the Mound-Builder have been swept away. Wissler in the Holmes Anniversary Volume shows the remarkable geographical correlations between the archaeological and the historic Indian areas of culture. (HAV p. 481).

The community houses of the modern pueblos are spectacular. The buildings, and the manners, and the customs and traditions of those who live in them throw direct light upon the life of the primitive inhabitants.

The ancient pueblo sites are very many and too well known to need description, but anyone who has climbed Mesa Verde, viewed Bonito from the cliff, and Tyuonyi from a cliff room, will find it difficult to curb his enthusiasm. Of Bonito, Judd says, and he knows: "No other apartment house of comparable size was known in America or in the Old World until the Spanish Flats were erected in 1882 at 59th Street and Seventh Avenue, New York City. The ruins are tremendously impressive, and whet the imagination.

Aside from hundreds of community houses there are thousands of detached houses of which traces remain and whose excavation often yields important relics of long ago.

One impressive shrine remains. Of unknown age, the Lions of Cochiti, carved from the rock of which they are a part, constitute the most significant monuments of primitive sculpture of the present territory of the U. S. They lie cosily beneath an old pinon, far from the haunts of man. The stone circle surrounding them seemed to me quite as impressive as Stonehenge.

What have anthropologists and ethnologists learned of these wonders of our unknown Southwest? Very much, and in reading their findings, anyone must feel, it seems to me, something of the allure of the possibly attainable fact, though its acquisition may mean the composite work through years, of meticulously careful investigators.

Kidder thinks the Basket Makers, the earliest people of importance of New Mexico, may have lived 1500-2000 B. C. Following cultures are sometimes designated as Post-Basket-Makers, Pre-Pueblo, Pueblo, and Modern. The transition from one culture to another seems, in general, to have been gradual.

Fairly definite characteristics for each of these culture period groups have been determined. Chronology is, of course, necessary for comparisons and the establishment of relations. The problem of dating the periods is difficult but not impossible. Kidder thus sums up our knowledge of the subject:

"Whatever the causes may have been, whether aridity, the attacks of savage enemies, or a combination of the two; the Pueblos gave up great stretches of outlying territory, began to congregate into large communities, and entered that stage of their history which we may call the Great Period." The building of the "Casas grandes" took place. "And, as before, the San Juan was the seat of the highest development; the achievements of its people in architecture, in the arts, and probably also in social and religious organization, were obviously of great importance in determining the development of the peoples to the south of them. This is most clearly seen in the spread of the massed-terraced style of building which during the Great Period began to come into vogue in the Rio Grande and the Little Colorado. It was fortunate for the persistence of the Pueblo culture that these tendencies did work southward for the time of the San Juan was at hand. In spite of all they could do, the people of this region were finally forced to give up the struggle; but that they made a hard fight of it is witnessed by the strongly fortified nature of the latest dwellings and the protective sites chosen for them, particularly in the frontier districts of the north. But eventually Chaco Canyon was abandoned; then the Mesa Verde; lastly the Kayenta plateau; and from that time on the San Juan ceased to play any significant part in Pueblo history.

As to the date of the desertion of the San Juan, we have no information; but from the fact that pottery of Toltecan type has been found at Pueblo Bonito, it would seem that these ruins must have been inhabited at some time between 800 and 1100 A. D. Their abandonment can hardly have been much later than 1100, for a considerable length of time must have elapsed between that event and the arrival of Europeans in 1540. (KSA 128 ff.)

Kidder has also worked out a chronological series of eight types of Pecos pottery, designated as glazes. He states that "it is reasonably certain that Glaze 1 of the Rio Grande series did not originate until after the abandonment of the Chaco ruins, for no Glaze 1 pottery, or its accompanying Biscuit wares, have ever been found at a Chaco site; nor has any Chaco black-on-white turned up in Glaze 1 Rio Grande settlements."

There is hope of positive dating of the monuments of primitive America in the Southwest. Prof. A. E. Doughlass of the University of Arizona has devised a method of tree-ring study which may solve the problem in connection possibly with the 3000 year records of the Big Trees of California.

Rapid progress is being made in Mayan archaeology and a definite chronology seems very likely. Fragments of Toltec cloisonné pottery, which may be dated, have been found at Bonito, New Mexico, by Pepper, (KSA, 134), and similar sherds at Chicken Itza in Yucatan, which suggests the possibility of dating the New Mexico ruins through the Mayan chronology. Of the civilization of the Mound-Builders, links with the Mayan culture

may yet be established which may give to the mounds a fairly definite chronology, in some cases, at least.

It is announced through the press that W. K. Moorehead believes he has found distinctly Mayan designs in the mounds of Georgia and Tennessee. We know from articles of European origin found in some of the mounds that their building was subsequent to the coming of the white man. Large trees growing on other mound sites, indicate that these were abandoned several hundred years before.

All these considerations of chronology make it seem likely that the important periods of both the civilizations of the Mound-Builders of the Mississippi Valley and of the primitive inhabitants of the Rio Grande were roughly contemporaneous and lie within the limits of not very much more than the first thousand years of the Christian Era.

As has been noted, definite evidence of relation of the cultures of Central America with that of the Mound-Builders has been announced. It would, indeed, be surprising not to find this for the Indians of long ago seem to have had extensive trade relations as these significant words of Squier and Davis indicate.

"In respect to the extent of territory occupied at one time, or at successive periods, by the race of the mounds, so far as indicated by the occurrence of their monuments, little need be said in addition to the observations presented in the first chapter. It cannot, however, have escaped notice, that the relics found in the mounds,—composed of materials peculiar to places separated as widely as the ranges of the Alleghanies on the east, and the Sierras of Mexico on the west, the waters of the great lakes on the north, and those of the Gulf of Mexico on the south,—denote the contemporaneous existence of communication between these extremes. For we find, side by side in the same mounds, native copper from Lake Superior, mica from the Alleghanies, shells from the Gulf, and obsidian (perhaps porphyry) from Mexico. This fact seems seriously to conflict with the hypothesis of a migration, either northward or southward. Further and more extended investigations and observations may, nevertheless, serve satisfactorily to settle not only this, but other equally interesting questions connected with the extinct race, whose name is lost to tradition itself, and whose very existence is left to the sole and silent attestation of the rude but often imposing monuments which throng the valleys of the West." (SCK, Vol. 1-306.)

No one, it seems to me, can study the representations of the plumed serpent among Mound-Builders, Mayas, and natives of the Rio Grande without feeling the likelihood of definite relationship. Many objects found in the Hopewell mounds, including swastikas and other art forms, all easily available for study in the Field Museum are evidence if not proof of connection with the southern cultures. Even more convincing is the similarity of so-called temple mounds or teocallis of Mexico and of our

southern states with occasional examples, some of which have been already noted, in northern states.

"Investigation must also finally determine whether the southern remains are of the same people whose works are scattered through the more northern States, and whether they were probably contemporaneous, whether the course of migration was southward or the reverse; whether the less imposing structures of the Ohio are the remains of a ruder and more war-like but progressive people, or the weaker efforts of a colony, pressed by foes and surrounded by difficulties. It may disclose the curious and important fact, that upon the Ohio and Mississippi first originated those elements which afterwards, in a regular course of progress, developed themselves in the gorgious semi-civilization of Mexico and Peru. Or it may, on the contrary, make known the no less interesting fact, that from these centres radiated colonies, which sustained themselves for a period, and finally disappeared, leaving perhaps only a few modified remnants in the region bordering upon the Gulf." (SCK. Vol. 1-119.)

There is, I think, no question of occasional intercourse between the cultures of the Rio Grande and those of Mexico and Central America; and with these, as we have seen, the Mound-Builders seem also to have had relation. That there would be some intercourse between the civilizations of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande via Central America or Mexico, seems possible. It might be slight yet sufficient to stimulate some direct connection via Texas, perhaps, of which some definite evidence is at hand.

J. E. Pearce of the University of Texas has written upon the Indian Mounds of Texas $\frac{\text{(AA 12-3)}}{223}$. He divides the state into five districts and describes the thousands of mounds extending from East to West. In the West broken stone mounds abound and evidences of Pueblo "influence" is noted. Manos and metates are found, also cave and cliff shelters. "The character of the Indian relics found in Texas, over the surface of the state, along the streams, about the waterholes and campsites, and in the burial places described, vary in character so widely that they represent nearly all grades of Indian culture that existed in North American regions north of Mexico." $\frac{\text{(AA 21-3)}}{232\text{-}3}$. "Of course, the Texas field is very large, and complete exploration may bring to light many facts not known now and force the modification of any present views. It is a fascinating field of itself, and its importance is much enhanced by its position between the Mississippi Valley cultures on the one hand, and those of Mexico and of New Mexico, on the other. It has been neglected too long and should soon come in for its proper share of attention from those scientists interested in completing, as far as possible, the history of man." $\frac{\text{(AA 21-3)}}{234}$

His work has been followed by the exceedingly interesting explorations by Moorehead in northwestern Texas reported in

$\frac{\text{(AA 23-1)}}{1}$ American Anthropologist for Jan.-March, 1921. There the Pueblo-Cliff Dweller type of Culture is in evidence and there seems reason to believe likely intercourse with the Mississippi via the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers. The stone graves resemble those of the Mound-Builders of Tennessee. The mano stones in large numbers were found in central Oklahoma. There seems to be little question of the probability of connection of the cultures of east and west, and Moorehead is definite in his statements. "The Pueblo people did occasionally migrate and we have some historical references to certain of them building in western Kansas. However, it is suggested that these Canadian valley ruins are not pure Pueblo. Next to architecture, the dominant factor of Pueblo-Cliff Dweller culture is the high ceramic art these people developed. It is but two hundred miles from the Landergin ruins to Pecos Pueblo, where the art was high. The able researches of Dr. Kidder and Dr. Guthe have proved this. It is unthinkable that Indians would lose, or discard, their skill as potters in traveling that distance. There has been no true Pueblo-Cliff Dweller pottery found on any of the sites visited by our party. Therefore, one is led to believe that the Canadian valley culture developed as it proceeded westward, rather than that these sites are mere outposts of those well-known Pueblo people." $\frac{\text{(AA 23-1)}}{10}$

"I regret that space does not permit presentation of illustrations of more of the buildings and the pottery. It is not Mississippi valley form; it is not Pueblo; it probably marks the transition. Finally, there is nothing found indicating Mexican origin or Pueblo influence. On the contrary, so far as the writer can observe, we have a tribe originally living in the buffalo country and of "Plains Culture" status which changed as it spread westward up the Canadian. They also built irrigation ditches farther up the streams from their villages. As they moved farther away from the buffalo country they continued to change and develop until they established themselves in permanent villages—were no longer nomads—and finally became the Pueblo-Cliff Dweller people." $\frac{\text{(AA 23-1)}}{11}$

Turquoises are a distinguishing feature of the Rio Grande civilization, and it would seem that these stones would be found in the Mounds if there was intimate relation of the cultures. Dr. R. V. Magoffin, President of the Archaeological Institute of America, states that turquoise beads were found in the recent excavations at Brainbridge, Ohio. (Mentor, April, 1926, p. 35.) Other finds and the identification of the stone as that of New Mexico might serve to establish a definite connection.

There is also the possibility of finding evidence of racial interrelations through analysis of metals, rocks, etc., especially copper, flint, and obsidian. The Lake Superior copper is distinctive in that it is 99+% pure, and there are possibilities of identification of sources of other metals and rocks.

Reference has been made to the very careful work of Barrett and Hawkes in the excavation of the Kratz Creek Mound Group in Wisconsin. Their report contains a highly interesting bit of imagined history, which gives color and background to this statement in their survey: "In building most effigy mounds and in some of the conicals, a very careful and systematic stratification was observed. These strata consisted of common local earths, sacrificial earths, and fire layers." (BHKC, 99.)

The careful use of sacrificial earths suggests the sand paintings of the pueblos. This somewhat unusual custom, differently employed, to be sure, in itself proves nothing, but it may be worth keeping in mind as a possible link.

In considering my question upon the subject, of horizontal stratification, Dr. Barrett writes: "There is no question at all but that the mounds of the Kratz Creek group showed this kind of stratification, though I would not say that there was anything suggestive of the painting of the Indians of the Southwest, in which actual designs are worked out in the different colored sands. There was, however, a distinct color stratification horizontally."

One of the most important sources of knowledge of our early cultures is found in ceramic art, which has been studied with great care by Holmes, whose thorough reports upon the "Pottery of the Ancient Pueblos" and the "Ancient Pottery of the Mississippi Valley" in the Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology have been followed by a very considerable literature upon the subject.

As to the relation of these civilizations, so far as pottery witnesses, Holmes wrote as follows in the Report named, 1882-3, p. 436; "With the Pueblo peoples, notwithstanding their proximity, there is hardly a hint of relationship of any kind. Unlike the Pueblos, the ethnical environment of the Mississippi Valley races would seem to have been considerably diversified; there was less isolation; yet there are strong indications that the art is mainly of indigenous growth, as there is unity and consistency in all its features."

The vast increase of materials may have supplied some basis for modification of this view. But, in any case, the lack of relationship in pottery types seems to me comparatively unimportant negative evidence, for anything so frail as pottery would very rarely be transported.

In his treatment of the "Art of the Great Earthwork Builders of Ohio," G. G. Willoughly writes of some of the textile remains from the Hopewell group: "This type of netting is found among the northern Athapascans in California, in the Pueblo region, and in Northern Mexico, but is rare in other sections north of Mexico." (HAV 480.)

There are many other possible sources of information in regard to the subject in question.

As subjects for study increase, the somatologist may give definite help.

The disc and hoop games of Mound-builders and pueblos suggest relationship.

The selection of sites for primitive buildings must impress anyone. Long ago Squier wrote: "The aboriginal hunter and the semi-civilized Aztec selected precisely similar positions for their fortresses, and defended them upon the same general plan; yet it would be palpably unsafe to found conclusions as to the relation of the respective builders upon the narrow basis of these resemblances alone." (SCK-I, 83-84.)

The wide-spread use of tobacco and the finds of pipes suggest another field for study, which has not been neglected by Dixon $\frac{(AA\ 23\text{-}1)}{47}$, Setchell $\frac{(AA\ 23\text{-}4)}{398}$, and other writers.

Smoking and the use of tobacco in religious rites do not seem to me likely to arise without influence, for the practices are not natural and universal. The Menominee Indians of Wisconsin still revere their smokers' rock "Manido" (14th Annual Report of Bureau of Ethnology, 38e.) The pueblo Indians still use their sacrificial cigarettes and seem to approve of the visitor who helps them to puff smoke clouds of prayer toward heaven. Maybe all the tribes of yore learned to smoke intuitively, so to speak. It seems more likely that some *one* discovered this practice and that it made progress from one demesne to another.

In historic times, we know that the people of Pecos knew something of civilization to the East, enough, at least, to induce Coronado in 1541 to travel far into Kansas, thus relating the cultures of the Rio Grande and the Mississippi by a Spanish link. Their ancestors may have known as much.

Finally there is a general feeling evidenced by frequent comparisons that the cultures of east and west did in some measure influence each other through migration, trade, or conflict. This is not proof and it is too early for definite conclusions but the time to work for them.

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MORMON LIFE AND DOCTRINES IN ILLINOIS AND UTAH (1840-1860).

By Willis G. Swartz,
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The Mormon Church was organized April 6, 1830, at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, by Joseph Smith, self-styled prophet, and a few dozen devout converts. Within a year the headquarters of the new sect were moved to Kirtland, Ohio, where a forty thousand dollar temple was built, apparently in anticipation of prolonged peace and prosperity. But by 1838 the popular opposition to Mormon proselyting activities, together with the failure of several Mormon business ventures, forced the prophet to seek refuge among his followers in Western Missouri. There a strong missionary organization had been maintained since 1830, in spite of continual persecution. In vain the Saints had removed farther and farther westward in Missouri, from Jackson County to Clay, and finally to Caldwell County. Unable to gain protection from either the courts, or the state legislature in Missouri, the discouraged Mormons began, in the winter of 1839, a general exodus to the neighborhood of Quincy, Illinois, where they were warmly received.

I

In spite of the heavy losses sustained in Missouri and Ohio, the Saints proceeded to purchase half the town of Keokuk, Iowa; the whole of the town of Nashville, six miles above Keokuk; half the town of Montrose, together with thirty thousand acres of land; and opposite Montrose, the village of Commerce, on which site was laid out the city of Nauvoo. During the winter of 1840, the Mormon leaders applied to the legislature of Illinois for extensive privileges, including several charters; one for the city of Nauvoo; one for agricultural and manufacturing purposes; one for a university; and one for a military body called the Nauvoo Legion. Since both the Whigs and Democrats in Illinois were competing for Mormon political support, all of these privileges were readily granted. By the end of 1840, there were at least fifteen thousand people in Nauvoo, many of whom had come from Canada and Europe. One of the first events in the New Zion was the choosing of a temple site—a prominent hilltop on which was to be erected an imposing edifice of glistening white sandstone, costing approximately one million dollars.

The years 1840 to 1844 proved immensely prosperous for the Mormons, both at home and abroad. At the opening of the fourth year, Smith found himself at the height of his power. His followers in Europe and America numbered more than one hundred

thousand, while he, himself, had collected a private fortune of about half a million dollars. His power and good fortune seem to have warped his judgment, for in February, 1844, he announced himself as candidate for the Presidency of the United States, with his disciple, Sidney Rigdon, as Vice-Presidential candidate. This boldness, together with even bolder utterances concerning the manner in which a President should conduct himself, led to renewed persecution at the hands of the surrounding Gentiles.

In June, 1844, occurred the death of the Mormon prophet. During that month, a couple of apostate Mormons issued the first number of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* an anti-Mormon publication. At a meeting of the city council, the journal was pronounced a menace and further publication was prohibited. Acting under the orders of Joseph Smith as mayor, the police entered the establishment and destroyed the presses. For this act, the proprietors of the journal obtained, at Carthage, Illinois, an order for the arrest of the prophet-mayor. Thereupon, Smith was taken before the city council of Nauvoo and, after a brief examination, was dismissed. This enraged the surrounding Gentile population to such an extent that a mob of from two to three thousand men was formed to aid the Carthage constable "not only to arrest Joe Smith, but to burn his town and kill every man, woman and child in it."[1] In an effort to prevent violence, the governor of Illinois went to Carthage in person. From there, he sent a message to the prophet, asking him to proceed quietly to Carthage, in order to demonstrate his willingness to abide by the law. Both the governor and the people pledged protection to the Mormon leader. On June 24, 1844, Joseph and his brother, Hyrum, the members of the council and all others demanded, proceeded to Carthage, gave themselves up, and were charged with riot. All were released, but Joseph and Hyrum were immediately re-arrested on a charge of treason. The excuse for this act seems to be that Smith had called out the Nauvoo Legion, had declared Nauvoo to be under martial law, and had then given orders to resist the posse comitatus sent by the governor. On the night of June 27, 1844, after the governor had once more pledged the safety of the prisoners and had departed, a mob of one hundred men, with painted faces, surrounded the jail and shot the two Mormon leaders. Doubtless, it was thought that this act would put an end to Mormonism; but rather, it gave more stability than ever to the Mormon cause, and "Joseph Smith the martyr became a greater power in the land than Joseph Smith the prophet."[2]

It was feared at first that the Saints would take up arms to revenge the death of their beloved leader, but it was prudently decided to let the Lord and the law punish the guilty. Since the prophet had left no adult male heir, Brigham Young was officially elected October 7, 1844, to the presidency of the Church.

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1 Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Utah,* (San Francisco, 1890) p. 172.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 190.

A brief period of peace followed the election of a new Church leader; but during the winter of 1845, persecution was renewed. The Whigs and Democrats in Illinois no longer sought the Mormon vote; the Masonic Order refused to admit additional Mormons to its ranks; the legislature of Illinois refused to grant another charter; the people were determined that the Saints should leave the state. Realizing the futility of remaining in a hostile state, the Mormons, themselves, determined to escape persecution by moving far beyond the American frontier, into the valley of the Great Salt Lake—then a part of the Mexican province of New Mexico.

In preparing for the long overland journey, Nauvoo became a veritable manufacturing centre for wagons, tents and other necessary implements of travel. Companies were organized, each of which had its own wagon shop, wheelwrights, carpenters and cabinet makers. Blacksmiths worked night and day. But the Saints, in spite of the popular threats coming from all quarters, were determined not to leave Nauvoo until the magnificent temple was completed and dedicated. The building was decorated in great splendor; but the ceremonies were scarcely over until the work of dismantling began.

In January, 1846, the first detachment set forth, and although it was in the dead of winter, most of the remaining Saints were driven forth, almost at the point of the sword. During the first months untold suffering from hunger and cold resulted among the travelers, but after the cold weather abated, few hardships were endured. As the great army moved across Iowa toward Council Bluffs, they were joined by fresh bands of refugees, until there were brought together some three thousand wagons, thirty thousand cattle, and a great many mules and horses. The manner in which Brigham Young organized the vast host into companies and brigades during this journey across the prairies may truly be called the work of a genius. In July, 1846, the main body crossed the Missouri River near Council Bluffs and camped at a place called Winter Quarters. By early autumn there were about twelve thousand Mormons either encamped on the Missouri, or on their way across the plains of Iowa.

II

In July, 1847, the advance guard of the Mormons, led by Brigham Young, reached the spot which was destined to be their "land of promise"—no longer a Mexican province but a part of the great unorganized American territory west of the Rockies. Planting and building was begun almost immediately, and within a few days a city was marked out, with the chosen site of the temple in the centre. By January 1, 1849, there were at least five thousand Saints assembled in Salt Lake Valley. Three months later, March 4, a convention, to which all the inhabitants of Upper California east of the Sierra Nevadas were invited, was held at Salt Lake City for the purpose of framing a system

of government. This convention adopted a constitution for a commonwealth to be called the "State of Deseret" and provided for the election of a full set of state officers. On July 2, of the same year, a petition for the admission of "Deseret" as a state was presented to Congress, which, after considerable haranguing over slavery and polygamy, voted, September 9, 1850, to admit "Utah" as a territory. In March, of the year following, a joint meeting of the two legislative bodies in Deseret agreed to accept the federal law for the establishment of a territorial government, and tendered Union Square, in Salt Lake City, as a site for the government buildings. Following the first territorial election on August 4, 1851, the new assembly voted to change the location of the capital to a proposed town of "Fillmore," in the Pauvan Valley; but after one session, Salt Lake City once more became the seat of government.

Under the federal law, which authorized the President of the United States to appoint the territorial governor, secretary, and three court justices, Brigham Young, on September 28, 1850, was inaugurated as the first governor. The non-Mormon federal officials arrived during June and July, 1851, bringing twenty thousand dollars, appropriated by Congress for the building of a state house. Within a few months' time, trouble broke out between the Mormon and non-Mormon territorial officers, with the result that most of the latter resigned and returned to the East.

As Governor of Utah Territory, Brigham Young is said to have actively encouraged immigration in order to swell the population sufficiently for admission to statehood. To assist those who were too poor to finance the trip from Europe, a "Perpetual Immigration Fund" was established, the money of which was used especially in purchasing horses and wagons for the trip across the mountains. In 1855, due to a crop failure in Utah, the Mormon officials issued notice that no assistance could be given to immigrants, except in the form of hand-carts for carrying the baggage overland. In February, 1856, Iowa City, Iowa, was named as the point of departure for Utah, and hand-carts and other supplies were concentrated there. Nearly thirteen hundred persons are said to have left Liverpool that year in order to undertake the journey afoot across the prairies. Five separate companies were started during the summer from Iowa City, the first four arriving in Utah without serious mishap. But the last expedition, undertaken too late in the season, culminated in the famous "handcart tragedy" in which nearly one-tenth died from starvation and freezing.[3]

No matter how great the hardships encountered in reaching Salt Lake Valley, every Saint, who survived them, is said to have forgotten all in the joy of first viewing the beautiful Mormon temple towering above the surrounding buildings, in the heart of Salt Lake City. For the Mormons, seemingly un-

3 Ruth A. Gallaher, "The Handcart Expedition", *The Palimpsest*, (State Historical Society of Iowa Publication, Iowa City, 1922) v. 3.

daunted by their disasters in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, made early provision for the building of magnificent places of worship in their new Zion. Consequently, in Temple block situated in the heart of the city, three religious edifices were constructed. The chief of these was the temple—a work of great devotion and self-sacrifice, marked by its lofty spires, and "prompted by the belief that Jesus Christ will some day come suddenly to His temple." Next in importance was the tabernacle, resembling a huge turtle and seating from seven to ten thousand people. The services in the tabernacle are described as "much the same as in orthodox evangelical churches, beginning and ending with prayer and singing, and sometimes singing and administering the sacrament in the middle of a discourse." The speaker seldom knew that he was to speak until called upon by the moderator, who regulated the services and made the selection "under inspiration." The singing was characterized as remarkably fine; the organ, constructed wholly by Mormon artisans, being the "largest and finest in America at the time it was built."[4]

The third building in Temple block was a "plain two-story adobe structure" known as the Endowment House. Here were conducted the most secret and solemn mysteries of the church, which are described as "religio-masonic ceremonies, illustrative of the origin and destiny of man." Here, also, were performed the "rites of baptism for the dead, anointing with oil, marriage, and other ceremonies" by which the convert was "endowed with the special grace of God," received "his inheritance as a child of God," and was made "a partaker of the fulness of all the blessings of religion."[5]

In this connection, it is interesting to note the principal doctrines and beliefs of the Mormons, especially during the decade, 1850 to 1860. In the words of one hostile critic in 1856: "Mormonism is an electic religious philosophy, drawn from Brahmin mysticism in the dependence of God; the Platonic and Gnostic notion of Eons, or a moving principle in element; Mohammedan sensualism, and the fanaticism of the sects of the early church; and there is the good and evil of Ahrimaism, with the convenient idea of the transmigration of souls from the Persian."[6]

In their religious life, the Saints placed great stress upon baptism. To them adult baptism by immersion was necessary to attain salvation.[7] Infants, in a more simple ceremony, were blessed by the laying on of hands.[8] A curious practice among the Saints was that of baptism "by proxy," or "baptism for the dead," in which a Saint might be baptized for his deceased relatives or friends, and they, by this practice, were released from a state akin to purgatory.[9]

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[4] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 358–359.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 356.
[6] J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints*, (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 61.
[7] *Doctrine and Covenants*, (Salt Lake City, 1890) p. 295.
[8] Benjamin G. Ferris, *Utah and the Mormons*, (New York, 1854) p. 209.
[9] *Doctrine and Covenants*, p. 453 ff; Ferris, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

The Latter-Day Saints, furthermore, believed that man would be punished for his own sins, not for any transgression of Adam.[10] They also believed in foreordination and election.[11] A strange story is told of the development of good and evil forces in the world. It is said, when the plan was adopted that man should transgress, it became necessary for someone to offer an atonement, and a council was called to choose a candidate for the occasion. Among those present was Lucifer, "son of the morning." Therefore, a contest developed between the devil and Christ but Christ won, and the devil and his cohorts were cast down from heaven; whereupon their "tabernacles" in this world are the negro race, which is cursed with a black skin.[12] Even more astonishing is a Gentile description of the Mormon conception of the Deity. God the Father is described as "originally, a spirit propogated by a previous God or Father." He was first a disembodied spirit and to obtain a "body" or "clothing" to his spirit, passed, like a human being, through a probation upon some earth. "The Father of God was the grandfather of Christ and, of course, the grandparent must have been propogated by a prior Deity."[13] Some Saints at that time expressed a belief that each "earth" in the universe had its own separate God, "exercising his omnipotent functions, independent of the rest." Perhaps the strangest belief in this connection is the one which held that Saints, after death, became gods and, on an equality with the God of this earth, created other earths and governed them. Thus, a group of progressive Saints ran into a sort of pantheism.[14]

The Mormons recommended the Communion, or Lord's Supper, as expedient and provided for its administration by a priest or elder. Although wine was at first used in this ceremony, water was afterwards substituted because only Gentile wine could be secured. In addition, the early Mormons are described as believing: In further revelations from God; in the literal gathering of Israel and the restoration of the ten tribes; that Joseph was to this dispensation as Moses was to Israel; that the sick should be healed by the laying on of hands; and that the Mormon mission is to convert the Lamanites, or American Indians.[15]

III

The most prominent, if not the most important, doctrine of the Latter-Day Saints during the decades 1840 to 1860, was the belief in the "divine institution" of polygamy. Not only was polygamy not sanctioned by the early Saints, but it was even specifically condemned by the "Book of Mormon." "Behold David and Solomon truly had many wives and concubines, which

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[10] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 335.
[12] Ferris, *op. cit*, pp. 207, 208.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 224.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 206, 224.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 212; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 333–335.

thing was abominable before me, saith the Lord."[16] "Wherefore, my brethren, hear me and hearken to the word of the Lord: For there shall not be any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none."[17] It was during the early prosperity at Nauvoo, apparently, that the practice of polygamy began and the vision of divine sanction came to the prophet Joseph. According to the Gentile version, it seems that polygamy had been practiced for sometime before the revelation was published, and that no little scandal had arisen as a result, making an authoritative explanation almost necessary.[18] At any rate, on July 12, 1843, the prophet is said to have dictated the famous Revelation to a fellow Mormon.[19] The numerous and specific references in the Revelation to Joseph's wife, Emma, have been interpreted by those opposed to Mormonism to indicate that Joseph anticipated difficulties in reconciling his wife to polygamy and that silencing her was one of his chief motives in publishing the Revelation.[20] A majority of the Mormon leaders, as well as their wives, apparently accepted polygamy without questioning; the few who did object either left the city or were driven from the Church.[21]

The revelation declares that "if any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then he is justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth to him and to no one else."[22] (It is interesting to note that the man who is credited with originating polygamy among the Mormons left no polygamous offspring. His wife slipped quietly out of active church life and remained in Nauvoo when the Utah exodus was made. His son, Joseph, became president of the Re-Organized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, an anti-polygamous organization.)[23]

It was in Utah that polygamy really thrived and became one of the principal doctrines of the Church. Visitors, during the 1850's, describe astonishing ideas held by the people regarding polygamy, which, we are told, is a "privilege belonging to the gods as well as to men."[24] "God was married, or how could he beget his son Jesus Christ, and do the works of his father?"[25] "Christ, as a spirit, was begotten in the heavens, and born of one of the celestial concubines."[26] "Christ, too, was married and his wives were Mary and Martha," and the "other Mary whom Jesus loved," all married in the wedding at Cana of Galilee.[27] Every

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[16] *Book of Mormon*, (Salt Lake City, 1920) Jaccb 2:24, p. 111.
[17] *Ibid.*, Jacob 2:27, p. 111.
[18] Stuart Martin, *The Mystery of Mormonism*, (New York, 1920) p. 80.
[19] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
[20] Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80.
[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 80–82.
[22] *Doctrine and Covenants*, p. 473.
[23] Martin, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89.
[24] Ferris, *op. cit.*, p. 234.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 242, quoting from the *Deseret Almanac*, 1853.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 243.
[27] Gunnison, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

unmarried woman had a right to "demand in marriage, on the ground of the privilege of salvation." The President must provide for her, and might command any man he deemed competent to support her to "seal" her to himself in marriage.[28] Ideas of polygamy, according to one observer, were even injected into descriptions of salvation. "The earth shall be purified by fire, and the Saints shall return to this world and each will be given a large farm. Each man will rise with his wives and children and the work of regeneration will go on."[29]

The home life among the Mormons during this decade would obviously be very closely connected with the problem of polygamy. As a matter of fact, the only material available on Mormon home life is that described in connection with plural marriage. "The Mormon polygamist has no home," declared a prominent apostacized Saint, who could apparently see little happiness in the life of the average adult male in Utah during polygamous times. "Some have wives allotted off in pairs in disconnected houses. Some have long, low houses and add a room for each new wife. Some have but one house and crowd them all together. When they live in different houses, they generally have different tables and the husband has to give each house its turn to cook for him. Jealousies the most bitter, reproaches the most galling and disgusting, scenes without number, and acrimony without end are the inevitable consequences of the slightest partiality."[30]

One visitor testified having been in huts where a man, with two wives, lived in one room and described one hut where a man, his two wives and a grown daughter lived in the same room. This observer compared the long, low houses, with one room for each wife and with an outside door for each room, to barracks and declared there was much violence between wives. The chief sufferer, under polygamy, continues this observer, was the first wife, who lived in constant apprehension of who would be the next concubine. Such a wife would not try to economize because an added concubine would have the same share in the fruits of her exertions.[31] On the other hand, a visitor in 1860 related several instances in which women were happy and contented in polygamous homes, and sometimes even begged the husband to take a second wife.[32]

A writer in 1867 called Salt Lake Valley "the true babyland." For a man to have twenty boys and girls in his house was common. This writer tells of dining with a merchant who could not give the number of his children without first consulting a notebook. Young, in 1867, is said to have admitted having forty-eight children alive, and Kimball, another prominent leader, is reported to have had a similar number.[33] Parley P.

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[28] Gunnison, p. 70.
[29] Ferris, *op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219.
[30] John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism: Its Leaders and Designs*, (New York, 1857) p. 52.
[31] Ferris, *op. cit.*, pp. 259–308.
[32] Richard F. Burton, *The City of Saints*, (New York, 1862) pp. 432–441.
[33] William Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, (Philadelphia, 1867) p. 211.

Pratt, one of the ablest of the Mormon preachers, is described as a proud practitioner of polygamy. He had, in 1852, a harem of eight wives, and had sixteen living children. When a stranger entered his home, Pratt would introduce one of his wives as "Mrs. Pratt," and then pointing to the rest would say: "These are all Mrs. Pratts."[34]

Although many of these polygamous families had, perhaps, more children than they could properly provide for, early provision was made for public education. Primary and secondary schools were opened in all the principal settlements, and for those sufficiently advanced, classes were organized as early as the winter of 1849 for the study of ancient languages.

Elaborate plans were also made for higher education. This was to be based on the so-called "third epistle of the twelve," published April 12, 1850, and providing for the appropriation of five thousand dollars per annum for a period of twenty years, as a fund for establishing a university in Salt Lake City. In the curriculum, French and German would rank equally with Latin; and astronomy, geology, chemistry, agriculture, and engineering would be offered. But, in the words of one critic: "Science was to be revolutionized; the theories of gravitation, repulsion and attraction were to be overthrown, the motion of atoms being ascribed to the all-pervading presence of the holy spirit"; and, furthermore, since it was revealed in the "Book of Abraham" that the great orb, Kolob, "the greatest of all stars seen by that patriarch, revolving on its axis once in a thousand years, and around which all other suns and planets revolve"—the whole planetary system was to be rearranged.[35]

In their social life, the Mormons seem to have been especially fond of dancing. It is said that during the journey from Nauvoo to the West, the people would gather around the fires during the evenings and engage in singing and dancing until nine o'clock, when the order was given for everyone to retire.[36] Among the first buildings constructed in Salt Lake City was "Social Hall," a roomy structure, so arranged as to answer the double purpose of a theatre and a place for social parties.[37]

An interesting description is given of the Governor's party held in Social Hall in January, 1853. The invitation cards, "very neatly executed," were sent around several days in advance. As each guest entered, he was met by the "private secretary," and was required to pay two dollars and a half toward the expenses of the entertainment—a custom which applied to "all their parties of pleasure." After all had assembled, the "business" of the evening was opened by a prayer, after which dancing commenced and continued during the evening. At eleven o'clock, a splendid supper containing "all the elements of a good feast" was served and "enjoyed with great good humor."[38]

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[34] Perris, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
[35] Dixon, *op. cit.*, pp. 323, 324.
[36] Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 220.
[37] Perris, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 304, 305.

The throngs of curious visitors attracted to Utah during the 1850's were free to attend all public functions, and many became tolerant, if not sympathetic, toward Mormonism. But outside of Utah, there was developing an irresistible movement for federal intervention to break the Mormon political power and abolish polygamy. The first object was at least partly accomplished by the bloodless "Mormon War" of 1856, in which federal troops invaded Utah and occupied the capital. The second was accomplished a generation later, by the federal laws of 1882 and 1887, prohibiting polygamy in all states and territories of the United States.

ILLINOIS ARCHITECTURE.

A Proposed Survey of the Architectural Development in Illinois.

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The subject, "Illinois Architecture," may seem somewhat foreign to the work or interests of the Societies represented here. But when it is considered that, from the earliest times on down to the present, structures have been created and constantly used by civilized man, it becomes evident that architecture must be given some consideration wherever the history of man is concerned.

Architecture is a term that the average person thinks of as being applicable only to large and monumental buildings. In its broadest sense, however, it may be applied to all structures reared by man for his protection, comfort and mental satisfaction, in the building which he has reacted upon the materials found about him in nature, in such a way as to leave the impress of his character upon them.

It is because of this fact that the builder leaves upon his structures an expression of his life and thought, that a study of architectural remains is one of vital interest to the historian. In fact, the architecture of ancient peoples has long been considered, by the archaeologist and historian, to be a concrete expression of the life and thought of the people that created it, and by a study of the architectural remains of ancient races, are able to read, with a considerable degree of accuracy, what manner of people they were.

Our chief source of knowledge of the ancient Egyptians, for instance, has been found in the interpretation of their architectural remains. We need no written account to tell us that they were religious,—the ruins of their stupendous temples leave no doubt as to that. We need no papyrus scrolls to tell us that they believed in an after-life,—that can be unmistakably read in their eternal tombs. Or, to come nearer home, the only knowledge we have of the ancient inhabitants of this State, the Mound-building Indians, has been obtained from the excavations of their very crude architectural remains, in the form of mounds, altars and graves.

We may, therefore, consider architecture to be a kind of historic document, not in writing, but in stone, brick, wood or other material, whereby the character and achievement of a people can be read. Consequently, the architectural remains of a people may be said to constitute excellent source material for a study of their history and development.

What is true of ancient peoples is equally true of all others as well. The simple architectural remains left by the early American settlers is of vital importance to the student of American history.

When the subject of Early American Architecture is mentioned the average person thinks immediately of the old Colonial architecture of the Eastern States. The Middle-west is generally thought of as being too young to have anything that is of architectural historic interest. We are only beginning to realize that Illinois has an architectural heritage that is worthy of study.

Aside from her primitive architecture, Illinois also has some slight remains coming down from the early French settlers. But the early architecture of most value to us in our present day historical studies is that left us by the hardy pioneers who settled here between 1800 and the Civil War Period.

It is generally agreed that little is created that is wholly new. Influences, traditions and precedents come in to modify our creations. This is especially true in architecture, where a building, once erected, stands for a long period, unless perchance destroyed, to exert an influence upon later works. In every known architectural style, can be traced ideas and forms borrowed from a previous people and period. Thus, there is in architecture, something of a continuous story of development from the earliest times on down to the present. This is accounted for by the fact that the mind of man seems so constituted that having lived in a definite architectural environment for a considerable period of time the forms become so fixed in his mind that, if placed in a new country and a new environment, he does not create new architectural forms at once, but begins by building in the manner to which he had been previously accustomed. For instance, when the early settlers came from Old England, into this new land, America, they found no native architecture here, neither did they create a new style, but instead, did the very natural thing of continuing to build their homes after the manner they had been accustomed to in the mother country. Our New England Colonial architecture was a direct reflection, in this country, of the prevailing styles of that time, in Old England, modified to meet the conditions of the Colonies. In Virginia and the neighboring states, there was a more direct transplanting of the Georgian Style of England, which with slight modifications became our American Georgian.

These Colonial styles sufficed so long as the Colonial system held in the East. However, after the Revolutionary War, there arose the desire for a new "national" architecture. Thomas Jefferson was the leader in this movement. From it came the introduction of the Classical Revival style, which was later followed by the Greek Revival.

Along with freedom other opportunities came to the people of the independent states. A vast area of land, lying to the

north and west of the Ohio, came into their possession, and a period of expansion set in. In 1787, provision was made for the establishing of a territorial government and for permanent settlement of this "Northwest Territory." Between 1800 and 1850 a great westward movement of peoples set in. Most of the early settlers in this area came from the New England and other Eastern States.

As the settlers from Old England had introduced into America, architectural ideas from Old England, so likewise, the New England settlers in the Northwest Territory, introduced architectural ideas from New England. Many early towns in this section of the Middle-west were made up largely of New Englanders and had New England institutions and New England architecture. Other settlers came in through Virginia and Kentucky, thus introducing the Southern or Georgian architectural types. The blending and development of these two styles, together with other influences, modified by local conditions, has given Illinois her dominant architectural types.

The pioneers in the process of development of the State erected a great variety of structures all the way from the humble cottage to the monumental State House. A study of the old houses, taverns, hotels, churches, court houses, schools, institutional buildings and other private and public buildings, will bring to light much of historic interest and value.

Many of these old buildings have already disappeared, and most of those remaining are in danger of destruction, either partially or wholly. Some have been preserved through the commendable efforts of the State historical societies and other organizations, and it is encouraging to note that during recent years a greater interest is being shown for the historic monuments of our State.

But we have scarcely made a beginning in the recording and the preservation of our early structures. When historic old structures cannot be preserved intact, then the next best thing should be done,—that is to place them on record by means of photographs, measured drawings, and published accounts. It is surprising how little is now on record concerning the early historic structures. Except for scattered accounts, one can find but little of the history of these early buildings. There is urgent need for a *source book* of historic information covering this phase of the history and development of Illinois. To produce such a book, it is first necessary to make a complete *architectural survey* of the State, in order to locate all buildings of probable historic interest and to gather complete data concerning them.

Surveys of this character have been made in some of the Eastern States. There are, also, many books to be had pertaining to the early architecture in the East. A few years ago a survey was made of the early houses of the State of Connecticut, the results of which were recently published in book form.

So far as I know only one architectural survey has been

made in the Middle-west area, and that is of my own investigation of the early work in Ohio. The field work of this survey, which consisted in photographing, measuring and sketching old buildings, was made during summer vacation periods, between 1919 and 1923. During the past two years considerable time has been given to classifying and studying the material collected and writing up the results. This was used as the basis for a thesis entitled, "The Development of Architecture in Ohio from 1788 to 1855," which was submitted for a higher degree. This manuscript, which is well illustrated, is now on file in the University Library, and thus many early structures of Ohio have been on permanent record. Many other special manuscripts and articles have been prepared on this work, a number of which have been published.

Another survey, that of the State of Kentucky, being conducted by Professor Rexford Newcomb, of the University of Illinois, has been under way during the past year.

Having completed my Ohio survey, and realizing the value of the work, I now have under way a similar architectural survey of the State of Illinois. The preliminary work consists in examining all the printed and illustrated accounts that can be found relative to the early settlers and the buildings they erected upon settling in this State. Files of historic material are being built up and the names of all the buildings that can be found are being listed for reference. From this material itineraries for field trips will be made up. I am especially anxious to obtain information about old structures in the State that are of historic interest. To make a study of these old structures, from an architectural aspect, it is necessary to have, not only historic data, but also photographs, sketches and measurements of all parts, both exterior and interior, together with notes on materials and methods of construction.

So far, my architectural surveys and studies have been carried on more or less as personal research work and largely in the interests of the special subject, "History of Architecture," which is the subject I teach at the University. My Department, although it is not organized for carrying on research, has been greatly interested in the work, and has allowed me research time to conduct the necessary studies, the results of which are now being used in our classwork. Similar material from other Western States is needed, for the work of our courses in the history of architecture.

However valuable from an architectural standpoint these studies are, it is believed that they are or should be of much wider interest. The proposed survey of the early architectural examples in the State of Illinois should be of interest to everyone in the State and of special interest to the Illinois State Historical Society, the State Historical Survey and to the State Historical Library. Therefore having a claim to state wide interest, it seems but fitting and proper that such a survey

should be under the auspices of or at least associated in some way with the State historical organizations which are already in existence and organized for work of this character. It is with this thought in mind that the work is being brought to your attention at this time.

A long period of time and an unusual amount of work is required for a survey of this kind. Every nook and corner of the State must be visited or otherwise examined. Obviously, it is impossible for one person to visit every place. It is quite necessary to depend upon other interested parties to collect a part of the necessary material. In the membership of our historical societies most of the communities of our State are represented. If we might have the cooperative assistance of our society members, in examining and reporting structures of historic interest in their vicinity it would be of great assistance. But, even with the help of many, five years or more will be necessary to collect a sufficient amount of material to make a comprehensive study, and after that several years will be required to thoroughly study, classify and verify the findings: all of which must be done before the complete story can be written.

There is not time for me to discuss the details of carrying on such a survey. However, I wish to propose or suggest that the Societies represented here consider the possibilities of a more detailed study of our early architecture, not only of Illinois, but of other states in the Middle-west, and to give what assistance they can in carrying on the work.

I shall be glad to assume the responsibility of receiving information and materials collected for an architectural survey, to examine it, classify and arrange it, make as complete and detailed study as possible, to report on the progress of the work from time to time, and finally to prepare the work for publication or otherwise arrange it for a permanent record, to the end that we may preserve and place on record for all time, this phase of the history and development of the State of Illinois.

SARAH BUSH LINCOLN
The Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln.

By Louis A. Warren,
Zionsville, Indiana.

After an intense biographical effort, reaching over a period of sixty years, we still think of Abraham Lincoln as mysterious, unfathomed, and unknown. One historian has said, "Mankind must find out how he came to be what he was, and will persist in prying into every dark corner of his earlier days to see if it cannot discover the clue to his genius." While we are not likely to account for his unique personality by the presence of some supernatural endowment, yet, we have made little progress in a scientific study of his inherited traits and the environment of his youth. The tracing of his innate tendencies may have been prevented by the uncertainty of his ancestral lines. There should be available, however, a trustworthy account of the influences surrounding him during the plastic years of his life. We may leave the task of Lincoln's lineage to Virginia and Kentucky, but Indiana and Illinois should feel responsible for recreating the economic, social, and cultural life that largely determined his career.

I am convinced that the most potent factor in the development of Abraham Lincoln, during his boyhood days, was the maternal care and oversight of his stepmother, Sarah Bush Lincoln. She mothered him from the time he was ten years old until he became of age, and her prayers followed him until he was stricken down by the assassin. Her family connections, matrimonial ventures, and personal characteristics have been hidden by the obscurity still surrounding many pioneer families of the Mississippi Valley. It shall be the purpose of this paper to present a brief biographical sketch of the Bush family and discuss the points of contact uniting Sarah to the orphaned children of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

For three years I lived in Elizabethtown, Kentucky, where Sarah Bush was born, and where she lived until she married Thomas Lincoln. Here, in the archives of the Hardin County court house I was able to learn much about the early history of the family. This evidence was supplemented by a personal acquaintance with Squire H. Bush who took pleasure in rehearsing for me many traditions about his Aunt "Sally." I recently attended his funeral at Elizabethtown, where he had lived for eighty-eight years. He was the last surviving child of Christopher Bush, Jr., brother to Sarah. His obituary notice was the closing chapter in the history of the third generation of Ken-

Mrs. Sarah Bush Lincoln

Stepmother of Abraham Lincoln

tucky Bushes. Another source of information which I have used is my own collection of old manuscripts, containing the personal papers of Samuel Haycraft, a contemporary of the pioneer Bush.

Christopher Bush was of German descent, and according to one who knew him, "a stirring industrious man." He located near Haynes Station, now Elizabethtown, about the same time that the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln made his first trip to Kentucky in the year 1780. Using warrant number 5166, he entered on August 6, 1781, two hundred acres of land including a mill site. By the year 1793, according to the tax reports of Hardin County, his land holdings had increased to 495 acres, and his livestock consisted of three horses and seven cattle. The following year he purchased two house lots in Haynes new town.

The Lincoln and Bush families met as early as July 25, 1795, when Hananiah Lincoln, a cousin of the pioneer Lincoln, and Christopher Bush, were appointed on a commission to view a road in Hardin County. It was not until the year 1803 that Thomas Lincoln, father of the President, became associated with the Bush family. On October 19, he was selected to serve on a jury which tried a case in which Elijah Bush, son of Christopher was plaintiff. The jury found for the plaintiff. A year later he served on a jury with Samuel Bush, and on a second jury, the same day, with Isaac Bush, two other sons of Christopher. Thomas Lincoln became closely associated with the father of Sarah Bush in 1805, when he was appointed one of the four patrollers of Hardin County, over which patrol Christopher Bush was made captain. Isaac Bush at this time was jailor of the County.

The Bush family provided the jailors, patrollers, and sheriffs for Hardin County during a period when it took men of courage to enforce the law and hold the prisoners. Christopher Bush had six sons; William, Samuel, Isaac, Elijah, Christopher Jr., and John. Mr. Haycraft in referring to these sons said: "They were stalwart men of great muscular power, there was no back-out in them; never shunned a fight when they found it necessary to engage in one; and nobody ever heard one cry 'enough'." He also relates how that one of these sons, Isaac, engaged in a dispute with Elijah Hardin, which resulted in Bush being shot. The doctors proposed to tie Bush while they cut out the bullet. "Bush had so much reliance on his pluck that he refused to be tied, laid down on a bench with a musket ball in his mouth, which he chewed to pieces as the surgeons cut nine inches in length and one inch deep before they got to the bullet, Bush never wincing during the operation."

It is evident that the father, Christopher Bush, was the type of a block, from which fell such chips as Elijah. In serving as constable in 1802, he apparently exercised his authority in too strenuous a manner, and possibly on the wrong party. A certain influential citizen, who later became Governor of Illinois, brought suit against the constable for "Trespass, assault and

battery, and false imprisonment." All I could learn about the details of the case was the fact that Bush was allowed three days' time as constable in making the arrest.

The three daughters of Christopher Bush were: Hannah, who married Ichabod Radley; Rachel, who became the wife of Samuel Smallwood, and Sarah, who first wedded Daniel Johnston and later was united in marriage to Thomas Lincoln. Two of these sons-in-law filled political offices in the county. Ichabod Radley was a deputy sheriff and also a school teacher. He was a "Down Easter" and very well educated for the times. Among his pupils were Honorable Ben Hardin, Robert Wicliff, Charles A. Wicliff, and Samuel Haycraft. Ichabod's son, Isaac, was High Sheriff of Hardin County for many years. I am unable to learn anything about Samuel Smallwood who married Rachel Bush, but some members of the Smallwood family who migrated to Kansas, occupied prominent political offices in the early history of the state.

It is Sarah Bush, who married Daniel Johnston on March 13, 1806, in whom we are especially interested. Benjamin Ogden, a pioneer Methodist preacher, was the officiating clergyman. It is evident from the marriage bond that Daniel Johnston could not write. On several other occasions when we would expect to find his signature, his mark appears instead. The commissioners books for Hardin County do not show that Johnston ever owned anything that could be taxed, with the exception of one year when he listed one horse. It is fortunate that he did not have any taxes to pay on property as he was placed on the delinquent list for not paying his poll tax. In August, 1810, Daniel borrowed some money, and Christopher Bush signed the note with him. During the same year he gave another note, and Samuel Bush went his security. Johnston was sued for collection on both notes, and the endorsements "without funds" suggest the financial condition of Sarah's husband.

On November 14, 1814, Daniel Johnston was appointed Jailor of Hardin County, probably through the influence of his wife's family. A bond of $1,000 was necessary for him to qualify and while seldom more than two persons were solicited to act as bondsmen, Daniel was obliged to secure six men before the required amount of security was guaranteed. It is evident that the brothers of Sarah Bush were through with Daniel by this time, as not a single one of them came forward to furnish bond. The year's salary which Johnston received from October, 1814, to October, 1815, as recorded in the County Court order book was twenty-three pounds, five shillings. Daniel evidently had some difficulty with other county officers during this period as an order demands that he "should deliver to Benjamin Helm, clerk of this court, the keys of the court house upon his requesting their delivery."

A large part of the Jailor's task fell upon the shoulders of his wife. Aside from providing meals for the prisoners, she was

usually called upon to keep the court house clean and provide the lights when needed. The jailor was also expected to "find" the fuel and care for the fires at the court house. The same system is in vogue in Hardin County today with some minor changes as to light and fuel provisions. Daniel and Sarah Johnston lived in the jail which was built in 1806. It was of stone and constructed after the pattern of the jails in feudal times with the dungeon beneath, the room above serving as the jailor's quarters. John D. Johnston, the third child and only son of Daniel and Sarah, was born in this jail.

Frederick Tull, the predecessor of Daniel Johnston as Jailor, died with cholera. Daniel Johnston was dead by the month of July, 1816. This we learn from the appointment of his successor; "Ordered that John Haywood be and he is hereby appointed Jailor of Hardin County in place of Daniel Johnston deceased." The sequel to this first matrimonial venture of Sarah Bush Johnston is found in a court order of April 14, 1817, appointing an administrator for the estate of Daniel Johnston. "On motion of Matthew M. Culley, who took the oath required by law and together with William Parcees, his security, entered into and acknowledged bond in the penalty of one hundred dollars, the administration of the estate of Daniel Johnston, deceased, is granted him, the widow of Daniel Johnston, deceased, having in open court declared that she refused to take upon herself the burden of said administration."

Sarah Johnston's father died some time between February 24, 1812, the date on which he made his will, and February 8, 1813, when it was probated. Bush made known in his will that he had already given to all his children except Christopher Jr., and John their full share of his estate, both real and personal. Whatever Sarah received from her father had probably been used before the death of Daniel Johnston. Shortly after her husband passed away she purchased from Samuel Haycraft for the sum of twenty-five dollars, property just outside the town limits, designated as "the lot with the cabin in which she now lives." Here, according to this same Samuel Haycraft, "she lived an honest poor widow" until her marriage to Thomas Lincoln.

We have reached a point in this discussion where the scene of Sarah Bush Johnston's activities must be shifted from Kentucky to Indiana. Two or three observations should be made before the Bush and Johnston relations are dismissed in favor of new family connections. Sarah had lived up to this time, in an atmosphere charged with political interests. Her father, brothers, brothers-in-law, and husband had been office holders in Hardin County. As a Jailor's wife she had come in close contact with those who frequented the court house. The stories of her early life, told in after years, could not have escaped the influence of these political associations.

Tradition claims that Thomas Lincoln was an early suitor

for the hand of Sarah Bush, but she rejected him in favor of Daniel Johnston because of his want of character, and shiftlessness. From what we know about these two men to-day, Lincoln does not suffer by comparison. At the instance of their weddings in 1806, Thomas was thirty years of age and his bride, Nancy Hanks was twenty-two. Sarah Bush was but seventeen and we do not know the age of Daniel. The marriage bonds reveal that Johnston could not write but made his mark, while Lincoln wrote a legible hand. The following year Lincoln was in possession of two horses, a town lot, 238 acres of land on Mill Creek, and probably 200 acres of land in Cumberland County. There is no evidence that Johnston owned anything. After investigating the court records referring to these two men I am convinced that Sarah Bush made a very unwise choice if she selected Daniel in preference to Thomas for either moral or economic reasons.

When Nancy Hanks Lincoln succumbed to the Milk Sickness in the month of October, 1818, at the Pigeon Creek home in Indiana, a widower, a daughter, and a son survived. Eleven year old Sarah Lincoln now became the house keeper for her father and the mother of her younger brother. Thomas Lincoln soon realized that such an arrangement was not fair to the children, and in thinking over possible solutions of the problem, recalled that when he left Kentucky, Sarah Bush Johnston was a widow with three children. One year and two months after the death of Nancy he set out for Elizabethtown to visit the Widow Johnston.

An own nephew of Sarah has recited for me the story of Thomas Lincoln's wooing and the acceptance of his proposal. His arrival at the cabin of the widow, so unexpected, was explained somewhat when she learned that he had been a widower for more than a year. She was not long in anticipating the purpose of his visit. According to my informant Thomas told her, "that they had known each other for a long time, and had both lost their partners, and then asked her to marry him. She replied that she could not just then. When asked the reason why she said that she owed a few small debts which she must pay. Thomas asked her how much they were, and after learning the amounts and the names of the creditors went out and paid each one of them. Then they were married."

The wedding of Mr. Lincoln and Mrs. Johnston was solemnized at Elizabethtown on December 2, 1819. Rev. George L. Rogers, a minister of the Methodist Church performed the ceremony. The old house in which the wedding was celebrated, according to Mr. Squire Bush, was standing until 1921. While it was in the process of being razed, I purchased the studding of the old roof under which the wedding took place. These pieces of timber containing the old wooden pegs were presented to the Elizabethtown woman's club. Attractive souvenirs of the occasion were made from these blocks. A stone in the brick chimney

of the old structure bore the inscription "S. P. 1806." The S. P. stood for Samuel Patton who built the original cabin.

Immediate preparations were made after the wedding for the removal of the household to Indiana. It had been but three years before, that Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln migrated from this same county. Ralph Crume, who married Mary Lincoln, a sister of Thomas, was pressed into service with his four horse team. The family and personal property were loaded on the same wagon and conveyed to the new home. A bureau, table, set of chairs, clothes chest, and cooking utensils supplemented the furniture in the Lincoln dwelling. Sarah still retained her interest in the Elizabethtown property she had bought of Samuel Haycraft, and it was not until ten years later that she disposed of the cabin and lot. The purchaser was Thomas J. Wathen who paid $123.00 for the real estate.

The census of 1820 for Spencer County, Indiana, shows the family of Thomas Lincoln to have consisted of eight white souls. This enumeration as far as I have been able to learn supplies the first documentary reference to Abraham Lincoln. In the column where white males between the ages of ten and sixteen are entered there appears a mark which designates the presence of Abraham in the home of his father, Thomas. Although the list gives no names except the head of the family, and only the approximate ages of the inmates, it is possible with the assistance of other sources, to release for the first time the names and ages of the members of this household.

The males listed in the report are entered as follows: One under ten years, one between ten and sixteen, one between eighteen and twenty-six, one between twenty-six and forty-five. The ages of the females, also, were recorded: One under ten years, two between ten and sixteen, one between twenty-six and forty-five. These notations represent the following individuals, respectively: John D. Johnston, five; Abraham Lincoln, eleven; Dennis Hanks, twenty-one; Thomas Lincoln, forty-four; Matilda Johnston, nine; Sarah Lincoln, thirteen; Elizabeth Johnston, thirteen; Mrs. Sarah Johnston Lincoln, thirty-two. Here under one roof we find the remnants of three pioneer families. With its three groups of orphan children it might well be called the first Indiana Orphanage.

Sarah Bush Lincoln was born December 13, 1788. She was four years younger than Nancy Hanks, the first wife of Thomas Lincoln, and twelve years younger than Thomas himself. She was but thirty-one years old at the time she married Thomas, while he had reached the age of forty-three. This is an important consideration when we think of her influence over the boy Abraham, who was but ten years old when she became his stepmother. Her viewpoint would naturally be more sympathetic with young life than that of her more mature husband.

There are some other contacts in this home which should be observed before the stepmother's contributions to Abraham

are mentioned. We note that the boys in this family group were John, five; Abraham, eleven; and Dennis, twenty-one. The variance of the ages would suggest little real companionship between these three individuals. John could never have influenced Abraham, and Dennis was a married man by the time Abraham was twelve years old. The three girls in the home were nearer Abraham's age. His own sister and his stepsister, Elizabeth, were two years his senior. Matilda, the youngest daughter of Daniel Johnston, was two years his junior. Elizabeth married when he was but twelve years old and this left Sarah Lincoln and Matilda Johnston as his companions for the next five years. They both married in 1826 and Abraham was by this time working at the Anderson Creek ferry. With the possible exception of his sister Sarah, it is doubtful if any of his youthful companions exerted any influence over him.

It is not difficult to anticipate the first contribution of this new mother to the orphan children of Thomas Lincoln. Existing in the wilderness for fourteen months without a mother to care for them, clothes to wear in the daytime and bed clothes to cover them at night would be some of the many material needs of these neglected urchins. It is not likely that a boy ten years of age would make any special efforts towards cleanliness, without the persuasion of a mother. We are told that a general scrubbing of the young Lincolns was the first task undertaken by the new director of the household. With the nourishing food she would prepare, the clean bodies, and the comfortable clothes, the general physical condition of these orphan children would be much improved. Sarah Bush Lincoln was noted for her sprightliness and industry which would provide in the renovated cabin, home conditions not inferior to the average pioneer family.

Little is known about the religious views of Mrs. Lincoln. Her contributions in this field were probably moral, rather than doctrinal. Her two sisters and one of her brothers joined the Severns Valley Baptist Church at Elizabethtown in 1802. Since that early date until the present it is doubtful if the Bush family has failed to have a representative in this historic church. Squire Bush, already mentioned, served the organization as deacon for forty years, and as Sunday School Superintendent for twenty-five years. Sarah, however, was never affiliated with the church while living in Kentucky.

According to a tradition credited to Dennis Hanks, after her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, Sarah "set some kind of a dead-fall trap for him, and got Tom to join the Baptist Church." The records of the Little Pigeon Church, situated near the Lincoln's Indiana home, do not support this story. At a business meeting of the organization, on June 7, 1823, item number four states: "Received Brother Thomas Lincoln by letter." After two other entries had been made, item number seven follows with this information: "Received Brother John Wire by relation, and Sister Lincoln and Thomas Carter by experience." While Thomas Lin-

coln had been a church member in Kentucky, his wife heretofore had made no public profession of faith. According to H. G. Glasco in the *Independent* for January, 1901, both Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Lincoln later affiliated with the Christian Church in Coles County, Illinois.

Apparently, the most valuable contribution which this stepmother made to the orphaned Abraham was her sympathetic attitude towards his desire to learn. Lincoln was a product of the library rather than a child of the school. Most of his information was acquired from borrowed books, and a library atmosphere of quiet was created by Sarah. Upon being interviewed by one of the President's biographers she said: "I induced my husband to permit Abe to read and study at home as well as at school. At first he was not easily reconciled to it, but finally he too, seemed willing to encourage him to certain extent. . . . . We took particular care not to disturb him—would let him read on and on until he quit of his own accord."

Sarah Lincoln, herself, had little education, and it is very doubtful if she could write her name. In some few places where we would expect to find her signature she makes her mark instead. Other members of the Bush family according to Mr. Haycraft the historian became much interested in education. We have already mentioned that one of Sarah's sisters married a school teacher. Her own brother, Christopher Bush, Jr., had one son who was a famous jurist, a member of the Kentucky Legislature and political leader. Two other sons of Christopher became prominent lawyers, and a fourth, one of the best surveyors in Kentucky. To Sarah, however, was left a greater service. Her encouragement played a larger part in the mental development of Abraham Lincoln than the year of spasmodic instruction under the tutorage of his transient school masters.

The physical, moral, and mental contributions which Sarah made to the life of Abraham, were confined to their Indiana residence. One most valuable influence which she exerted over him did not cease with the migration of the family to Illinois, or his decision to leave the old home, but continued with him until death. This stepmother loved Abraham Lincoln no less than her own children, and the love of Abraham for his own mother was not greater than his affection for his foster mother. It is doubtful if history records a mother's tribute to a stepson comparable to this testimony of Sarah Bush Lincoln: "I can say what scarcely one woman—a mother—can say in a thousand, Abe never gave me a cross word or look, and never refused in fact or appearance, to do anything I requested him. I never gave him a cross word in all my life . . . . his mind and my mind—what little I had—seemed to run together."

A few days before the departure of Abraham Lincoln from Springfield in 1861, there occurred another farewell scene in a Coles County cabin fully as trying to "Greatheart" as the memorable leave taking of Springfield friends. There was no crowd

to witness this parting of mother and stepson but we may feel sure that the close contact of more than forty years was not easily broken. Others may have occupied prominent places in the funeral cortege that brought the martyred President back to Illinois; others may have paid glowing tributes to his life in well spoken eulogies, but among the real mourners none would be more truly grieved than the mother of his boyhood days.

Few women who have rendered such valuable service to civilization, have been so little honored as this stepmother. Not until four years ago was her name to be found on any memorial. Dr. and Mrs. William Allen Pusey of Chicago, at that time made possible the erection of a monument at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, on which she is mentioned jointly with Thomas and Nancy Hanks Lincoln. Not until two years ago was her grave near Farmington, Illinois, marked. This effort was sponsored by the Lions Club. The fact that she was the wife of Thomas Lincoln was more responsible for her recognition here, than any deep appreciation of the individual service she rendered.

While memorials which she shares with others, now designate the place of her birth in Kentucky, and the site of her grave in Illinois, the State of Indiana has made no effort to honor this woman. It was here that for eleven years she was the most potent factor in directing the acquired tendencies of Abraham Lincoln. Appreciative stepsons of America, among whom we might include our Honorable President Calvin Coolidge, should erect somewhere in Hoosierdom a worthy memorial to Sarah Bush Lincoln, the greatest stepmother in all the world.

A RARE JUDICIAL SERVICE OF CHARLES S. ZANE.

By John M. Zane.

Judge Zane passed many of his active years in Illinois, but had it not happened that he was appointed in 1884, Chief Justice of the Territory of Utah, there would probably have been nothing in his life to characterize his judicial service as rare, and naturally, therefore, any notice of his life must be mainly concerned with his service as a Federal Judge. As a judge in Illinois his performance of his duties would present no features more interesting than would that of many another good judicial officer. But in Utah the field was altogether different, and offered opportunities to a man of his characteristics. In describing his work in Utah, I hope that I may visualize for others the attractive personality whom not only his family but all his friends loved and revered, and that I can explain the strange surroundings where his unique judicial service was performed.

The relation of these strange surroundings must begin as far back as 1820, when two angels of the Lord, presumably winging down from Heaven, alighted in a small community in Western New York, seeking a boy of fifteen named Joseph Smith, with an important message. One angel would have been enough, but two angels give undoubted verisimilitude to the mission. Joseph was told by the heavenly envoys that he must reserve himself for special work, and that he must not join any religious sect whatever. The boy was obedient, although displaying at times tendencies toward the Hard Shell Baptists, and the preliminary warning was fulfilled seven years later by another angel named Moroni, who led Joseph to the hill of Cumorah, near Palmyra, New York, and there disclosed to him golden plates, whereon was written in "reformed Egyptian" the history of the lost tribes of Israel. They had sailed over the ocean by means of a compass, a startling anachronism, and had reached not Scotland, as the wits contend, but South America. On this continent, the better part of them had been wiped out by the worse part, leaving their history of misfortune written on the golden plates. The angel had thoughtfully provided with the plates, in order that Joseph could decipher the "reformed Egyptian," a pair of stone spectacles, called after the most mysterious thing in the Old Testament, the Urim and Thummim.

By virtue of these plates and magic spectacles, which never turned up later, Joseph claimed to be the Prophet of the Lord "in these latter days," and he at once announced the new dispensation, and the new means of salvation through faith in

Joseph, to supersede the original redemption by the Saviour, which was apparently assumed to be a complete failure.

Joseph found followers in those days of Stygian darkness, when it was an easy matter to found a religion, for he had other unusual powers. He could summon spirits from the vasty deep and they came when he called. He summoned the angel Gabriel to confer upon him the Aaronic priesthood, and the apostles Peter, James and John were called from Heaven to induct him into the preposterous priesthood of Melchisedek. His apostolic succession was thrice fortified, and had presumably three times more authenticity than that of even the successors of St. Peter, who wear the triple crown and seal with the signet of the Fisherman.

The story is well known, how Joseph first led his flock to Kirtland, Ohio, thence to Missouri, and how they were driven to Illinois. Friction arose with the Mormons in this State but the sect might have remained a wholly harmless exhibition of the maxim, Credo quia absurdum, (I believe it because it is absurd), had Joseph not cast eyes of longing upon the maid servants. He had neither rounded Seraglio Point nor passed Cape Turk. Being unusually fertile in obtaining revelations from the Almighty, he produced that Pandora's box of evil, the revelation which authorized a superfluity of wives. The grammar of it was patently that of Joseph, not of Omniscience, and it was wisely addressed to Emma, Joseph's wife, the person most concerned. This was, in itself, a proof of its verity. It indicated to Emma that for Joseph, more than one wife was desirable. It is sad to think that Emma failed to rise to her opportunities. A robust resistance on her part, supported by adequate muscular activity toward the erring Joseph, would have spared the Mormons much suffering and Joseph might have lived on, a wiser and a better man. But she failed and when this revelation was known, a row among the Mormons ensued, in which outsiders took a part. It ended in the death of Joseph and his brother Hyrum at the hands of a mob, and the emigration of the Mormons to some region out of the United States, where the wicked would cease from troubling. They settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, and were then in Mexico. The successor prophet, Brigham Young, by divine guidance revealed this spot to be the unmolested abode of his people. Here was the fresh water Utah Lake, a veritable Sea of Galilee, and out of it the river named by them the Jordan, flowed down to the Dead Sea, the Great Salt Lake. It was a repetition to the Mormons of the physical features of the land where the Saviour lived and wrought. Here, the Lord's mouthpiece told them, another Zion would arise with the white walls of the Lord's temple, and streets bathed by the living waters of the streams. But in 1848, when all the Mormons had gotten there across the desert, the supposed divine guidance turned out to be a mockery, for the Mormons, by our treaty with Mexico in 1848, were all back again in the United States.

From 1848 to 1884, when Judge Zane went there, the Mormon community greatly expanded. They were through their missionaries indefatigable and successful proselytizers, among a certain class of people both in this country and in Protestant European countries. Their success was considered sound proof of divine favor. The leading Mormons, imitating the Prophet, had repeatedly appropriated for themselves the benefit of Joseph's revelation, and the infant industry was prodigious, yet so far as statistics show, even Brigham Young, whose progeny was numerous, did not rival the record of Augustus the Strong, Elector of Saxony, who was credited with three hundred and fifty-three children; but he certainly never boasted divine promptings.

The Mormon expansion covered the valleys of that arid region, wherever water for irrigation could be obtained. The soil was rapidly brought under a high type of cultivation and various communities prospered. The land had a beauty of its own, with its valleys nestling among lofty mountains, the clear atmosphere and the brilliant sun and unclouded blue sky of the desert. At evening the last rays of the sun, and soon the brilliant coloring in the sky and the purple glow on the mountains make a scene of indescribable beauty. The people were simple in their tastes, inured to privation, frugal and industrious, fanatically believing in their new religion, fully persuaded that everything they heard from the pulpit was directly inspired from on High. They were assiduously indoctrinated with the beauties of polygamy and the blissful ministrations of plural wives were the reward of devoted church service. The government of the Mormon communities was theocratic, centralized, in fact, in the head of the church. All avenues of promotion lay through the church and religious eminence went hand in hand with earthly acquisitions. It was the doctrine that no woman could attain celestial glory unless she were sealed to some man, and it is a melancholy fact that the women were fantical believers in fractional parts of a husband.

Every Mormon was persuaded that his sect was hated and persecuted because it alone had the true faith. The church had its noble army of Martyrs, headed by the sainted Joseph. They desired to be let alone to govern themselves in their remote mountain region and were not above claiming that they were protected in their practices by the constitution of our fathers. Their religion was proscriptive, and the denial of any part of the Mormon creed was equivalent to eternal damnation. Apostasy from the church was an unforgivable crime, yet the steadfast courage of certain apostates will always remain an inspiring lesson in human fortitude. Gradually behind the peculiar practice of polygamy was massed the whole power of that community. The great number of polygamous wives and their children, who could find no excuse for their own existence, except in the heaven-sent

doctrine of a plurality of wives, furnished enthusiastic support to the doctrine.

Isolated as they were, it was easy to work out a rigid rule of the priests. They kept the forms of democratic government, but a few imperious old men held all the keys and ruled with an iron hand, but it is to be said that these men, headed by Brigham Young, were of remarkable abilities. As time rolled on and the Mormons waxed strong, and the priestly rule over the people grew more despotic, they became a formidable difficulty to the general government, which had plenary power over the Territories. A polygamous community in a monogamous country was a scandal to government. But Federal officers were driven out of the Territory, the expedition of Johnston's army proved abortive. At last the discovery of the precious metals in the mountains brought a non-Mormon population, called Gentiles by the Mormons. Even the Jews found history reversed and themselves supplanted as the chosen people and classed in Utah as Gentiles. These Gentiles, comparatively few in number, lived in a bitterly hostile community, and were looked upon as offensive interlopers in Zion. That portion of the earth and the fullness thereof belonged to the Mormons by divine designation.

Gradually the story of the dark, bloody and cruel deed of the Mountain Meadows Massacre came out of Utah and aroused the country, nor could the moral sentiment of the land endure this polygamous disgrace. At last in 1882 the Edmunds Law was passed by Congress, but nothing was done until 1884, when the Chief Justice lately appointed by President Arthur reached Salt Lake City in August of that year. In the next month he opened court, for the three United States judges held separately the nisi prius courts and sat together as the Supreme Court.

Judge Zane was then fifty-two years of age. He had been born in New Jersey of a line of Quakers resident since 1676, in the United States. He had come, a very young man, to Illinois. He had had a few years of what approximated a liberal training at McKendree College; he had taught school and had then read law and been admitted to the bar. After practicing for fourteen years, he in 1872 was elected Circuit Judge on the Sangamon Circuit, and was reelected in 1878. He had thus had twelve years of judicial training. It was before a bar that was second to none, in Illinois. Such names as Logan, Palmer, Cullom, Stuart, Edwards, Hay, Green and McClernand, not to mention others, both at Springfield, and in the rest of the Circuit, are an indication of what the bar was. These able and brilliant lawyers had daily practiced before him and in addition to a sound knowledge of the law, he had gained from judicial experience the poise that comes to those judges who are able to improve by the work of a great bar.

There are lawyers still living who remember him as a judge in Illinois and who knew his eminent capacity. The fundamental qualities of strict integrity, patience and courtesy he had, of

course. But he had that rare judicial cast of mind, which can suspend judgment, which can listen without making prepossessions, which can hear all the facts and considerations that surround a case or a question, and then reach a reasoned conclusion. I do not think I am misled by a son's partiality when, after an experience of many years in many courts, before all kinds of judges, I say that I have never seen another judge of his perfect calmness and poise of judgment, of his absolute colorlessness in the performance of his duties, without passion or bias or prejudice. To this was added great penetration of mind, and originality of thought, the sifting clearness of intellect that resolves difficult situations and "the calm eye that seeks, 'midst all the huddling silver little worth, the one thin piece that comes pure gold." He had, too, a remarkable industry. His work was never in arrears. Cases were decided when they were argued, or immediately thereafter. He was able to follow this course, for all his opinions, except in the Territorial Supreme Court, were oral. He had a remarkable gift for oral disquisition, by thinking the matter out clearly and giving utterance to it in an orderly and legal way. He could upon occasion be remarkably eloquent. But all this would not have made his career in Utah, had he not had an absolute courage and readiness to meet difficult questions. Disagreeable as a duty might be, he met it without hesitation. He never paltered with his conscience, nor compromised with his duty. His desire to keep up with his work led him to go to his office almost every night to work upon matters before him. Regularly about ten o'clock he would come down from his office and walk up the street to his home. Many Gentiles thought that he was in danger, but he dismissed the idea as absurd. He never knew that the two well-dressed men, who almost every night seemed to be strolling up the street after him, were a pair of cool-headed faro dealers of accurate shooting proclivities, who had assumed the duty of taking care that the judge suffered no harm. He once told me that they were, he thought, mining men.

It was a lesson in all the judicial virtues to see him preside over a court. A fine, clear cut countenance, a slim erectness of figure, never disfigured by the obesity of age, made him a handsome man. He looked composed and serene, the picture of judicial impartiality and the embodiment of the law. His appearance begat confidence and respect. All things moved with deliberation and order. He had the reserve and dignity that belong to the office. No one became familiar with him. He had no confidants. No lawyers ventured to impose upon his indulgence. The swashbucklers of the bar at Salt Lake City quickly learned that this judge could neither be browbeaten nor mislead.

Yet there was nothing austere about him. He was a man of the simple, gentle, direct manners that come from a kindly heart. He was merciful and humane, a truly civilized man. He could have been written as one who loved his fellow men. Never to him did it seem necessary to comment on the weak, the low or

the mean characteristics of other men; he sought, rather, what was good and worthy in all men. He uniformly spoke no evil; he spoke what he could of good. He was genuinely interested in human beings and he had the blessing of sympathy with others. He hoped for the best in men and women, but did not allow himself to be deceived as to their worst. While he knew that often there is a world of good in things evil, he knew that there is no less often a world of evil in things good.

His attractive character with perfect affability was the secret of his popularity among all classes of men. There was something about such a character, its straight-forwardness, manliness, kindliness, geniality and consideration for others, that appealed to all kinds of people. All men instinctively liked and respected him. This came to be true of the Mormons. Even little children who did not know him, seeing him walking along the street, would come up and take his hand and walk and talk with him as confidently as with their own parents. I think that he never had an enemy in the sense of one who bore him malice.

Another thing about him was his absolutely correct life. I do not suppose that he ever intentionally did a wrong thing. He was perfectly truthful, always rigidly moral, never an associate of unworthy men, never guilty of conduct not befitting his judicial position. He seemed to his family a model of what father and husband should be. Self-restraint and self-control in conduct, moderation and calmness in statement and an unshakeable composure, such as he had, are not often seen.

One trait or rather cast of thought was to be of signal advantage to him in his judicial work in Utah. While he had inherited the virtues in private life of his Quaker ancestry, he had not inherited any of their religious ideas or beliefs. He was an absolute agnostic, yet he believed, as the ancients believed, in the immortality of the soul. He was certainly not a Christian in the sense of the Trinitarians. He had no belief in the doctrine of redemption or of salvation either by faith or by grace. Yet he was firmly persuaded of the good in all Christian sects. He could meet the Jews on common ground. He never found it necessary to seek to interfere with any belief, and he was glad that another could find comfort and sustaining power in a creed that gave him intellectual offense. All religious sects seemed to him to require an amount of belief, as he would say, that his mind was not so happily constituted as to attain. He rarely was found in a church, yet all the preachers and sectarians were his friends, and all of them wished that the virtues of his life could have been a tribute to the efficacy of the faith, in which they believed.

This detachment from religious prepossessions was of especial value among the Mormons, for whatever he was required to do was untinged by any of the sectarian's hatred of a peculiar religion or of peculiar beliefs. He may have thought them unwise, but their religion was not offensive to him because it denied the very basis of Christianity. If one preferred to be redeemed

by faith in Joseph or to be baptised for the unredeemed dead, he could give him an indulgent smile. Federal justice in Utah had been too often tinged with sectarian hatred of the Mormon beliefs and the Mormons had the feeling that judges were anxious to punish them for belief in a religion that was essentially not Christian, and were denying to them for that reason the equality of the laws.

As a matter of fact, the Mormons were at an advantage in arguing with orthodox theologians, who went on the Bible, the whole Bible and nothing but the Bible. The Mormons accepted literally every word of the Old Testament as absolute truth, and the examples of worthies like Abraham or David or Solomon drawn from the Old Testament to support polygamy were difficult to be answered by Fundamentalists; but when the Mormons went so far as to venture to cite, as they did, the Saviour as a polygamist married to Mary and Martha, argument seemed to have degenerated into blasphemy. The Mormon Pantheon had almost as strange inhabitants as the pagan Olympus. Even Adam whose disobedience, according to Fundamentalists

> "Brought death into the world and all our woe
> With loss of Eden,"

figured as a God in the Mormon heaven. Whether Eve was a goddess I have never been able to ascertain.

Toleration of all kinds of beliefs is practically the highest type of mind that civilization produces. It is the standpoint of the law to regard religious beliefs, where they do not depart into unlawful acts, as wholly indifferent to the law. To Judge Zane, beliefs might be absurd, but he did not consider a man necessarily a fool, because he believed in a foolish religion. The constant miracles of the Mormons did not trouble him, because all miracles were alike unbelievable. His Deity worked in other ways, but he was incapable of a harsh word against any honestly held religion, the simple faith of a simple folk. It had happened that Judge Zane in his years of early manhood immediately prior to President Lincoln's election in 1860 had seen not a little of that extraordinary man under exceptional circumstances. He had a number of times been with Mr. Lincoln when he had gone to different places near Springfield to make political speeches. He was with him when the news first came to Springfield, that the Chicago Convention had nominated this man who was to stand on a level with Washington. He had seen the President in Washington after he assumed the heavy duties of guiding the country. The loving veneration with which Judge Zane cherished his memories of Mr. Lincoln seemed to expand into the thought that he must never do anything unworthy of one who had enjoyed the friendship of that blameless and exalted soul. Perhaps it was from President Lincoln that he gained his first lessons in self-control.

Such was the man to whom fell the task of presiding as a judge, backed by the unlimited power of the Nation, over the

enforcement of an obnoxious law among a strange people, worshiping strange gods, under an almost alien sky. While the law must be enforced, while the unlawful practice of polygamy must be repressed along with all other crimes, it must be by legal means, by the ordinary judicial processes; all appearance or even suspicion of religious hostility must be carefully avoided, for these people must be persuaded of the justice of the law and of the justice of punishment and must not be alienated from the government. The task was to bring them in the end to such a condition of mind that they would of themselves willingly abjure a practice which they should come to recognize as wrong and unlawful. This from the beginning was what Judge Zane consciously had in mind. He left behind him several closely written volumes of diaries, which are an exact statement of his ideas from day to day. It is but just to say that these Mormons had virtues that rendered this result possible, if the situation should be properly handled. But first, let me ask, can any one point to a case where a religious practice founded on a religious belief, has ever been put down by the strong hand of the law, and has not left a festering sore, or a legacy of hatred and discontent? It is on account of the different result in this instance that I call this paper an account of A Rare Judicial Service. I shall indicate in a general way what Judge Zane did to insure the desired result.

The first question that arose was in regard to the challenges to grand and petit jurors. It was apparent that in a Mormon case, no Mormon grand juror would vote to indict. The law had provided a ground of challenge to jurors, but an array of legal talent maintained that the law did not apply to grand jurors. The court was called upon to rule whether it was a good ground of challenge that a juror conscientiously believed in the practice of polygamy as a religious duty. It was strenuously urged that such a test based the grand jury qualification upon a religious belief, and would bar Mormons from grand juries considering all kinds of crimes. The court, however, in a masterly opinion, held that the law having defined polygamy as a crime, a belief in the lawfulness of a crime was in itself a ground of challenge to a grand juror passing upon the crime. This ruling resulted in only Gentiles being eligible either as grand or petit jurors and swept away at once the ability of the Mormons to block prosecutions.

The court's oral charge to the Grand Jury that followed could be classed as a great state paper. It was explained that the law defined polygamy and unlawful cohabitation as crimes, and the court stated why it was that the belief in a religious right to commit a crime could not be accepted by the courts of law as a defense to the crime. An eligible grand jury was empaneled and found many indictments. Those polygamists who could do so, went into hiding and many of their plural wives were driven into concealment.

Then came the question as to what was meant by the words unlawful cohabitation in the description of a crime. If it was intended by the term to define simply the offense against good morals of cohabitating with more than one woman, the law would have been a nullity, and from difficulties of proof it would have been incapable of enforcement. The court from the history of the act and the evil intended by it to be remedied and from the language of the law, defined unlawful cohabitation to be the maintaining of the status of a polygamist, shown by the dwelling with more than one wife in the habit and repute of marriage. This simplified the crime into one that could be proved by the simple fact that a man lived in such a condition that he created for himself, the reputation of living with more than one wife.

Another attempt to block prosecution was futile. The jury list provided by the statute was exhausted and the court had no jurors. The resort to an open venire for jurors was claimed to be interdicted by the statute, but the court held otherwise in the first case tried and this obstacle was removed. It may seem absurd that such a question was raised, but it was raised and carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which found no difficulty in affirming the ruling.

Another proposition was whether the alleged polygamous wife could be compelled to testify. The Edmunds law, very carefully and wisely drawn, had denounced no offense against the polygamous wife who was herself always unmarried when she became a plural wife. In the first trial the question arose. A leading Mormon was being prosecuted for the two offenses of a polygamous marriage and unlawful cohabitation. After a jury had been empaneled and the fact of the defendant's marriage to his first and lawful wife had been proven, the polygamous wife was called to the stand and was asked the question whether she had ever been married to the defendant. She refused to answer. It was a remarkable scene. The witness was an innocent-faced, ox-eyed, redcheeked, buxom looking young woman, who had been told what she must do. She sat upon the stand in a defiant attitude and refused to testify after the court had instructed her that she should answer the question. The court room was crowded with Mormons, it was late in the afternoon, the shadows were beginning to fall and in deep silence, with everyone straining forward to hear, the judge turned to the witness and talked to her with all possible kindness and indulgence. He explained to her what her duty was under the law, and that the law could never permit a witness to refuse to answer questions which were lawful and right in themselves, that it was the duty of every witness to state the truth, that if she stated the truth no one could blame her, but if she declined to perform her duty under the oath she had taken, it would be his duty to sentence her to jail as a common malefactor, to remain imprisoned until she did answer the questions, whether it be for days or months or years. His firm and solemn words had something of the inexorability of fate, as he told her how idle it was for her to suppose that she

could defy the court or her country's laws. The witness was now in tears. Then, as much for the Mormons present as for the defendant, he referred in scathing language to a man who would lead a young and innocent woman into such a forlorn situation in life that she could not state whether she was married or not, and would be willing to induce her to take a position, where she must suffer imprisonment in order to shield him from the consequences of his crime, that such conduct showed a moral cowardice that would be disgraceful to any man of correct feeling. He told her that she would go in the custody of the marshal, and that she should consult legal advisers as to what she ought to do, that in the morning she would be brought into court again and given an opportunity to answer. Simply by his manner of humanity and kindness in delivering a warning that seemed firm and inexorable and by his tact in dealing with the situation, he made it impossible for the Mormon men to shield themselves in such a way. In the morning the witness was brought in. She testified as to the bigamous marriage and as to the fact that she had lived with the defendant as his wife. Clawson received a severe sentence and was denied bail pending his appeal and when he brought the matter before the Supreme Court of the United States, he found that Judge Zane was right in denying him bail, and in issuing the open venire.

But it was in the matter of sentences that he showed the most tact. The defendant, when called for sentence, would be allowed to express himself fully as to why he should not be sentenced. Many a foolish tirade was made in self-justification, but the answer from the bench was always unanswerable in exposing the folly of a defendant who attempted to make a law for himself, contrary to the law of the land. If he could do this for his own type of crime, others could claim it for other crimes and all equality before the law would cease to exist. He told them that their proudest boast ought to be that they were citizens of a great country and obedient to their country's laws. These oral exhortations from the bench were many of them of the most eloquent and moving character. They made a profound impression upon the rank and file of the Saints. The defendant, if he answered that his intention was in the future to obey the law, was sentenced under a very light penalty, but if he was contumacious in saying that he would not obey the law, he received the extreme penalty. The constant rulings and the exhortations from the bench created an atmosphere around the practice of polygamy that gradually made polygamy obnoxious to many Mormons. And at the same time, the law became an infallible machine, where no guilty man could escape. At last Congress, in 1887, passed the act forfeiting all the property of the Mormon Church. This law was attacked as unconstitutional. The cause was argued for the Mormons by Mr. Broadhead of St. Louis and Senator McDonald of Indiana, very noted lawyers. Judge Zane wrote the opinion in the Supreme Court of Utah. It was affirmed

in the Supreme Court of the United States, and this drastic law was sustained. The cases in the Supreme Court of most importance are **Clawson v. United States,** 113 U. S. 143, and 114 U. S. 447; **Cannon v. United States,** 116 U. S. 55, and **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints v. United States,** 136 U. S. 1. But affirmances of his rulings in other criminal and in civil cases were quite numerous. Singularly enough there was, I think, but one case, in which he wrote the opinion, that was reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States and that was one of his finest opinions, holding the Utah law allowing another number of jurymen than twelve and not requiring unanimity, in civil cases, was not contrary to the Federal constitution. Most lawyers today of liberality of thought would think that the Supreme Court was too narrow and unenlightened in its ruling.

The result of these rulings was that practically every Mormon polygamist went to the penitentiary and wore the stripes of a convict. The pressure from the courts became such that it was impossible for the Mormons after a few years to withstand it. But this pressure was shorn of all appearance of religious persecution. Everything was kept on the high plane of the law. Gradually the Mormons came to have an intense respect for the Judge. They saw him in all civil cases, and every other kind of a criminal case, eminently fair and just and enforcing the laws that Mormon legislatures had made, they felt the influence of his character so fully, he was able to impress the Mormons so thoroughly as a just and sagacious mind, that the greater part of them felt that he was right. At last the demand for obedience to the law from within the Church itself, became so great that the Mormons themselves were led to abolish their polygamous practices. One Sunday in the great Mormon Tabernacle, in the presence of an immense throng of the faithful, who knew that some important matter was to be heard, the President of the Church, Wilfred Woodruff, arose to announce that he had "wrestled" with the Lord in prayer and that the Lord had spoken to him. He was a plain, earnest, simple looking old man of rustic bearing and bucolic aspect, who had become by the law of seniority the President of the Church, what the Mormons tautologically called their Prophet, Seer and Revelator. He announced to the listening thousands that the Lord had told him that the time had come to relieve his chosen people from their sufferings and the burden of "living their religion" and thereafter it would be unlawful and against the doctrine of the church for any Mormon to celebrate or to enter into a polygamous marriage, and unlawful for any Mormon to live with more than one wife in the habit and repute of marriage. Thus polygamy and the continuance of the polygamous relation were voluntarily abolished by the Mormons themselves. It is true that the revelation of the Lord was then put to vote in that vast assemblage, and fortunately the vote sustained the Lord without a dissenting voice.

I venture to say that this was the first time that a decree of the Almighty was required to be endorsed by a town meeting.

Now came the crucial time, for if the Gentiles and the country were not willing to accept this authoritative engagement by the whole Mormon people, it was apparent that the only opportunity to compose the situation would be lost. The Gentiles were sadly divided, the more bitter class among them contending that the revelation was a mere blind and that the engagement was not made in good faith. Whether the Seer and Revelator actually believed that he had talked with God or not, he gave the impression of absolute sincerity. But who will undertake to say what are the movements of a man's mind, especially if he be a very religious man?

Judge Zane was clearly persuaded that there was but one thing to be done, and he lent his position as Chief Justice, his great weight, reputation and experience to the loyal acceptance by the government of the abandonment of polygamy as an expression of honest intention by the whole people. I remember well his quoting to me Burke's famous phrase that he did not know how to draw an indictment against a whole people. In the years that had passed he had constantly told them that all the government asked was their abandonment of an unlawful practice, and that statement he was prepared to maintain.

The event showed that the Mormons as a people were in good faith and that his acumen had not gone astray. They took steps to disband their political organization and were anxious to bring themselves in accord with the rest of United States. Their naturally law abiding disposition outside of their peculiar practice offered a sound basis for good citizenship. They showed no disposition to seek revenge for any of the sufferings which they had endured, and this is probably the highest praise that can be given them. They showed that they had the Christian virtues by their works at least, however much their religion might differ from the orthodox formula of the atonement. In a few years the situation became composed, and the old struggle ceased to trouble men who had been wearied by it. It was given to Judge Zane to see the mature fruits of his work and to be the most important factor in closing the struggle, and in no respect was he entitled to more gratitude than for his firmness in accepting the situation.

Utah was admitted as a State and the first election that was held resulted in the election of Judge Zane to its Supreme Court. He received the highest vote cast for any candidate, upon either of the tickets. This is the best commentary upon the efficacy and healing character of his judicial work, and of the trust and respect that had come to be felt toward him by the Mormon people. I cannot be mistaken in thinking this to be the very highest proof that severity can, by a happily tempered spirit, touched to fine issues, be so used that even those who have suf-

fered, will recognize that severity may sometimes have quality of mercy.

His popularity among the Mormons was and remained as great as it had ever been among any set of people among whom he had lived. This was due as much as anything else, to the fact that he had been able to impress them with his absolute fairness and justice. He had proved to be a better guide than their own misguided leaders who claimed direct inspiration from the Lord.

In 1900 he left the bench and lived for seventeen years the life of a private citizen among the very men and women who had at the beginning complained so bitterly of his seeming harshness. He never had reason to complain that the Mormons resented anything in his conduct. He enjoyed from them a singular deference and good will, as creditable to them as it was to himself. Today these "old unhappy things" are almost forgotten. But the historian who at some future time shall write the history of the Mormon people, without bias or bitterness toward either Mormon or Gentile, must write in letters of light the name of this upright and fearless judge, as a benefactor most deserving of grateful remembrance both by Mormon and by Gentile. He has now gone to his reward and whether the soul be undying or not, he can, at least, be said to be one

"Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence."

Judge Zane died in 1917 at Salt Lake City, where he had continued to be **clarum et venerabile nomen.** Death came to him in the form that Caesar wished for, a sudden and painless death without warning. Though eighty-five years of age, he was still in the possession of his bodily strength and health, with a mind, unworn, undebased, undecayed. In the fulness of

"An old age, serene and bright,
And lovely as an Alpine night,"

he fell back stricken with a cerebral hemorrhage and instantly and painlessly expired. He is buried at Springfield, Illinois, in her lovely City of the Dead, where repose so many others whose bodies are buried in peace, but whose names should live forevermore.

LINCOLN AND THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

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The American tradition of civil liberty has its roots in those Anglo-Saxon institutions that carry back to the earliest days of English History. The more distinctive American development begins with the war of the revolution, when a new nation was having its birth in the storm and stress of the first American civil war. Interestingly enough, the first state constitutions which bear the dates of this revolutionary era led off in sweeping declarations in favor of individual liberty—freedom of speech and press, freedom of petition and assemblage, freedom of religious worship, and the rest. George Mason, the father of the Virginia bill of rights, could rejoice in the general tendency to emulate the example set by the Old Dominion. It did not seem inconsistent with these guarantees, perhaps, that the "Tories," traitors to the American cause, and even suspects, who would not take their stand with the patriot party, should become the victims of persecution, at first by irresponsible mobs and later by revolutionary committees and governments until at length the liberty of the individual was hedged on every side. However much practice may have failed to square with principle, the formal promulgation of these bills of rights marks an era in the development of the American concept of civil liberty.

When a new fundamental law was under discussion in 1787 and 1788, one of the outstanding issues was the question of adequate safeguards for the rights of the individual. No one challenged those rights; the only question was whether or not specific quarantees against possible encroachment by the central government should be incorporated in the new constitution. In due time the insistent defenders of human rights forced the addition to the federal constitution of the first ten amendments to constitute such a national bill of rights.

No real strain upon these principles came until war clouds gathered in 1798, when *de facto* hostilities were actually waged by French and American vessels upon the high seas. Then the conservative forces in power became fearful of democracy, which they regarded (in the language of George Cabot) "in its natural operation . . the government of the worst;" they felt that the opposition forces should be effectively checked. They pointed to the alien agitator in the country, to the "red" propaganda, and to the necessity of curbing the spread of the democratic ideal.

In that day it was the Frenchman, the defender of the French revolution, of the contemporary brand of "Bolshevism," which was designated as "Jacobinism"—for the French revolution had passed into the hands of the radical party, the Jacobins. Jacobinism" must be checked; so an alien act was passed authorizing the president to order the withdrawal of any undesirable alien. But the president who signed the act did not have the courage in the face of public resentment, to order the deportation of a single alien. At any event, it seemed that radical thought and speech must be checked—for there were many points of contact between American democrats and the radical alien agitators; hence a sedition act which provided a heavy penalty for any criticism of the government or of its agents. The administration allowed this act to be used against a few aggressive opponents; thereupon a popular revulsion took place at the ballot-box and swept the conservatives from power. As to the small group of offenders who were still under the penalties of the law, Jefferson decreed their release as one of his first official acts as president.[1] He had already proclaimed in the famous passage of his inaugural address the right of opponents to criticize and attack his own administration: "if there be any among us," he declared, "who would wish to dissolve this Union or change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."[2]

Thus in the early days of the fathers was established the tradition which has been a national heritage for later generations, a tradition which furnishes the background for Lincoln's attitude toward civil liberty when he piloted the nation through civil war. As he well knew, this tradition had twice withstood the test of actual war-time conditions.

During the war of 1812, the very men who had enacted the sedition law of 1798 claimed for themselves the right freely to criticize the government and to oppose the war. They found an eloquent spokesman in the rising young Webster, who took a moderate and dignified position, as compared with the many who were ready even "to go as far in active opposition to the war as was possible without incurring the risk of an indictment for treason." Webster was delegated to draw up the famous Rockingham memorial in which it was solemnly declared: "If we could perceive that the present war was just; if we could perceive that our rights and liberties required it; if we could perceive that no Administration, however wise, honest, or impartial, could have carried us clear of it; if we could perceive its expediency, and a reasonable hope of obtaining its professed objects; if we could perceive those things, the war would, in some measure, cease to be horrible. It would grow tolerable, in idea, as its expediency should be made manifest. Its iron and bloody features would soften, as its justice grew apparent. . . . But

we are constrained to say, that we cannot, in conscience, ascribe the foregoing characteristics, to the present war. . . . We are wholly mistaken, if the causes assigned for the present war against England will bear the test of these principles."[3] No restraint was imposed upon so frank and outspoken a criticism. In recognition of his capable anti-war leadership, the Rockingham convention honored Webster with the nomination to a seat in Congress and in the following election he led his party to victory.

In 1846 the nation was again at arms at the call of a president who made the soul-stirring appeal that a ruthless neighbor had caused the shedding of American blood upon American soil. Abraham Lincoln was then on the threshold of a career in national politics—the Whig candidate for Congress in the Springfield district. There is no evidence that during this canvass he proclaimed himself the champion of peace against the forces of Mars. Some time later, however, he joined in the Whig challenge to the war policy of the administration. Then did he set few bounds upon his defiance of the President. Then Abraham Lincoln and a hundred others assumed the role that had been essayed by Webster. He boldly summed up the situation in a speech delivered Congress on July 27, 1848: "If to say 'the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally commenced by the President' be opposing the war, then the Whigs have very generally opposed it. Whenever they have spoken at all, they have said this; and they have said it on what has appeared good reason to them. The marching of an army into the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement, frightening the inhabitants away, leaving their crops and other property to destruction, to you may appear a perfectly amiable, peaceful, unprovoking procedure; but it does not appear so to us. So to call such an act, to us appears no other than a naked, impudent absurdity, and we speak of it accordingly."[4] All this and more Lincoln said, knowing that he was risking nothing more than the support of a constituency responsive to the lure of a successful war.

Meantime in Lincoln's home town of Springfield, the Rev. Albert Hale in a public sermon proclaimed the injustice of the national cause and characterized the returning volunteers, whom the community was welcoming as heroes, by some such designation as "moral pests to society."[5] The state constitutional convention was then in session in Springfield and Mr. Hale was one of the clergymen who had offered opening prayers. One of the members of the convention now denounced Hale's sermon, and proposed that the clergyman "be excused from holding prayers in this Convention for the future." The convention, however, by an overwhelming vote adopted a motion to lay the resolution on the table. A long debate followed: the resolution was renewed, but John M. Palmer, a pro-war leader who later became governor of Illinois, moved a substitute declaring the principles of the free-

dom of worship and freedom of speech and disclaiming "all censorship over the pulpit, or the opinions expressed therefrom, inasmuch as such censorship is in violation of the rights of the Reverend gentleman."[6] The resolution virtually sustaining Mr. Hale was barely tabled (60-54), but the general declaration in favor of the principles involved was upheld (9-102). The convention then adjourned in order to proceed to Jacksonville to participate in the ceremonies attendant upon the funeral of Colonel Hardin, the Illinois war hero, in whose memory the delegates were, according to unanimous agreement, wearing crepe upon their left arms for a period of thirty days.[7]

The *Chicago Tribune* of that day upheld the clergyman war heretic and deplored the attempt to censure him. *The Western Citizen* of Chicago even applauded the Rev. Mr. Hale for having declared the war's "corrupting and demoralizing influence upon the volunteers." "We rejoice," it declared, "that in that region where the war spirit so generally prevails, there is one man of sufficient moral courage to tell the truth on this subject. It is truly a moral oasis in the desert."[8] When one of the anti-war papers implied that the original resolution involved an attempt to interfere with freedom of opinion or of utterance, the *Illinois State Register,* the state organ of the pro-war party, denied this interpretation and explained: "The mover of the resolution of expulsion did not care what Mr. Hale did in his own pulpit; he simply wished that the Convention should not be the theatre of his 'religious performances'."[9]

It was obvious that the Mexican War did not disturb American tradition to the point of interfering with the civil liberties of persons who insisted upon proclaiming their disagreement with the war policies of the government. To be sure, it produced the famous anti-war anecdote later repeated by Lincoln when he could look back upon his anti-Mexican war stand as having contributed to his enforced retirement from active political life. This story originated in or near the editorial office of the *Illinois Journal* under auspices not far removed from Lincoln himself. A witty friend of the editor, asked if he was in favor of the war, replied: "Yes—I am in favor of the war. I went against war once to my great cost, and you will never catch me in another scrape of that kind. This time . . . I go in for *war, pestilence and famine.*"[10] The pro-war party deplored such wit and the questionable patriotism that it implied, but had to concede the right of the opposition to a full and untrammelled statement of its position. The Whig critics of the war resented any tendency to question their right to designate the war as unnecessary and unconstitutional, the work of a weak President and an incompetent cabinet.[11]

Fifteen years later, Abraham Lincoln, the war heretic of 1847, was in the presidential chair. In the background lay this well-tested tradition of freedom of opinion, of speech, and of

press; immediately before him lay the responsibilities of office at a time when the very existence of the nation was threatened. He faced problems such as not only try men's souls, but also such as strain to the utmost the safeguards of civil liberty. Let Lincoln himself explain the complexity of the situation: "Every department of the government was paralyzed by treason. . . . Even in the portions of the country which were most loyal, political combinations and secret societies were formed, furthering the work of disunion, while, from motives of disloyalty or cupidity, or from excited passions or perverted sympathies, individuals were found furnishing men, money, and materials of war and supplies to the insurgents' military and naval forces. Armies, ships, fortifications, navy-yards, arsenals, military posts, and garrisons one after another were betrayed or abandoned to the insurgents."[12] In this emergency, the president "caused persons who were represented to him as being or about to engage in disloyal and treasonable practices to be arrested by special civil as well as military agencies and detained in military custody when necessary to prevent them and deter others from such practices."[13]

This was Lincoln's explanation made through his secretary of war on February 14, 1862, in an order in which he accepted responsibility for arbitrary arrests that in reality probably represented the wishes of his secretaries of state and war. In this same way he later acquiesced in the arrest and trial by court martial of the noted Ohio Copperhead leader, Clement L. Vallandigham, although he clearly acted against his better judgment. He even rationalized his official course, and publicly upheld the right to make military arrests "in localities where rebellion or insurrection does not actually exist"; he went further and asserted the right to interfere with the agitator who proclaimed that the Union armies were fighting in a bad cause and for a wicked administration.[14] Officially Lincoln accepted responsibility for a policy which his friend, Senator Trumbull of Illinois, openly condemned, and which General John M. Palmer, writing from the field, forecasted would convert "this Constitutional Republic into a despotism." But probably none of these official commitments so well indicates his real policy as the remainder of this executive order of February 14, 1862, in which he directed that "all political prisoners or state prisoners now held in military custody be released on their subscribing to a parole engaging them to render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the United States." Few of these "political prisoners" were mere war critics; they were mainly those who had aimed to come to the assistance of the southern confederacy or who had played the part of active and dangerous obstructionists. Lincoln knew, when he issued this "EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 1, RELATING TO POLITICAL PRISONERS," that there was no unanimity in the attitude of northerners toward his war aims;

yet, feeling that the line between loyalty and disloyalty had become "plainly defined," he was unwilling to interfere further with the civil liberties of those who would promise to render no aid or comfort to the enemy.

Lincoln was anxious to make every possible distinction between the political prisoner and the ordinary criminal. He was ready to free the war offender as soon as he became convinced that he could adjust himself to a constructive contribution to his home community. It was in this spirit that Lincoln on December 8, 1863, when the cause of the Union was still dark and uncertain, issued his famous Amnesty Proclamation, in which he offered a full and complete pardon "to all persons who have, directly or by implication, participated in the existing rebellion," excepting only the civil and military leaders of the Southern Confederacy, upon condition that they would take an oath to support the constitution and laws of the United States.[15] This offer was made to active traitors in the meaning of the Constitution; the policy outlined in this Amnesty Proclamation was executed by Lincoln and by his successor, Johnson, as the best way of obliterating the scars of the national division of 1861.

Criticism of Lincoln and of the administration arose in every part of the loyal North. Often it was in most aggravating forms. Lincoln was called a "widow-maker" and "a tyrant only fit to split rails."

> "There is so much sameness in the history of all tyrants that a line of demarcation can hardly be drawn between them. Compare Nero to Abraham Lincoln, and you will see a wonderful similarity. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning; Abraham Lincoln told a nonsensical joke while the field of Antietam was still smoking with the hot blood of the patriots who had fallen there. . . . Great Heavens! How much more iniquity will the freemen of America stand from the usurper and tyrant who is only fit to split rails.' (*Cairo Democrat*, July 14, 1864.)
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> "This accursed war has lasted over three years, and never, since its commencement, has our cause seemed so gloomy as now. . . . If Abraham Lincoln be re-elected President of the United States, ere his term of office shall expire we shall be wiped from the list of great nations, and the name of America will be considered with reproach and scorn by the old nations of the world." (*Joliet Signal*, August 9, 1864.)
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> "We all shall all breathe more free, now that the graceless set of fanatics, demagogues, toadies, and minions of executive power, that formed our American Rump Parliament, have dispersed and gone to their homes. We pray heaven that the political rapscallions, the Praise-God-Barebones, and Fight-the-Good-Fight of Faith Fellows, who submissively sat in their seats and obeyed the behests of their Soverign Lord, Abraham Lincoln, may never return to the halls they have disgraced." (*Belleville Democrat*, July 9, 1864.)

These are but few of the items of criticism made by opposition papers in Lincoln's own state. Few of the most active journalistic critics suffered from any interference whatever, whether direct or indirect. There were certain journals, however, which found it difficult to exercise free expression in war-

time. A number of newspapers suffered from the raids of loyalist mobs, and a few were temporarily suppressed by military commanders. A considerable outcry arose from the opposition. It was therefore charged to the account of Lincoln that no proclamation was issued by him as President against such violations of constitutional and civil rights.

In general, however, there is no evidence that Lincoln countenanced such action in even the most indirect way. A technical responsibility he may have had,—but one which he would gladly have shelved. His home newspaper, *The Illinois State Journal,* early in the war proclaimed a doctrine that he seems to have thoroughly shared: "Public men are, to a certain extent, public property, and the Press are free to praise or censure their actions. We would never see this right abridged."[16]

The *Chicago Times* and the *Jonesboro Gazette* were two of the most serious thorns in the side of the Illinois war party of 1861. For six weeks in the spring of 1863, the office of the *Jonesboro Gazette* was closed by the local military commander pending his work of arresting deserters in that vicinity; and the paper was later laid under interdict by General Burnside. As early as August 7, 1862, Governor Yates wrote to Secretary of War Stanton, "There is an urgent and almost unanimous demand from the loyal citizens that the *Chicago Times* should be immediately suppressed for giving aid and comfort to the enemy."[17] Its circulation was temporarily forbidden by certain generals in their commands. Early in 1863 the Chicago Board of Trade and the Chicago Y. M. C. A. started a boycott of the *Times* and the Chicago and Galena Railroad prohibited its sale on the company's trains.

On June 1, without waiting to confer with the War Department, General Burnside, in command of the Department of the Ohio, issued general orders, Number 84, which proclaimed the suppression of the *New York World* and of the *Chicago Times,* "on account of the repeated expression of disloyal and incendiary statements." Before daybreak on June 3, a military detachment from Camp Douglas took possession of the *Times* printing establishment. Within a few hours a meeting of prominent citizens of both political parties presided over by the Mayor unanimously agreed to request the President by telegraph to rescind General Burnside's order,—a request which was reenforced by the personal solicitation of Senator Trumbull and Representative Arnold of the Chicago district. The lower house of the State Legislature simultaneously passed a resolution condemning the Burnside order. In Chicago that evening a mass meeting of twenty thousand representative voters gathered, and enthusiastically resolved that the freedom of speech and of the press should be upheld by the subordination of the military power to the civil authority. The next day, while sixteen carloads of soldiers were on the way to Chicago to handle the threatened

crisis there, Secretary Stanton issued general order, Number 91: "By direction of the President of the United States, the order suppressing the publication of the *Chicago Times* is hereby revoked."[18]

Lincoln acted in this case under most trying conditions. It was not easy to overrule an important military commander—indeed, in the case of the arrest of Vallandigham, the President had swallowed his objection to the course of General Burnside and had acquiesced in the authority of the Court Martial. Duly pondering his action in revoking the *Chicago Times* order, after many had made evident their disagreement with the course he had taken, President Lincoln, on May 25, 1864, confessed to having been embarrassed "with the question between what was due to the military service on the one hand, and the liberty of the press on the other"; as to the Burnside order, he announced himself "still from certain that the revocation was not right."[19]

Meanwhile the *Times* had continued "to deplore the continual cry of the Administration for more men—more human lives—more widows and orphans—more suffering and a despair," but was allowed to go its way undisturbed. General James Oakes, with emphatic conviction, summed up the role of the *Chicago Times* in his report as acting Assistant Provost Marshal General for Illinois, on August 9, 1865. The *Times* was "chief among those instigators of insurrection and treason, the foul and damnable reservoir which supplied the lesser sewers with political filth, falsehood, and treason," "a newspaper which would not have needed to change its course an atom if its place of publication had been Richmond or Charleston instead of Chicago." "The pestilential influence of that paper in this state," he continued, "has been simply incalculable. I have not the slightest doubt that it is responsible for the shedding of more drops of the patriot blood of Illinois soldiers than there are types in all of its four pages of political slime and scandal. The conspiracy that came so near wrapping Chicago in flames and drenching her streets with blood was fomented and encouraged by the teachings of the *Chicago Times*. Without that paper there would have been no conspiracy. In my opinion, without desiring in the least to abridge the regulated liberty of the press, it is as much the duty of the Government to suppress such newspapers in time of public danger and war as it is to storm the fortresses, sink the navies, and destroy the armies of the common enemy; and should war again break out I will urge the prompt adoption of the policy."[20] Here was nothing of the forgiving spirit of the collossal figure who had cherished "malice toward none." Was the excited general consciously pillorying for negligence the martyred President whose broken body lay in a grave a short distance away?

President Lincoln showed a remarkable sensitiveness for that day to the problems of the early conscientious objectors. Few people of that day could understand the Quaker who was

willing to attest his sincerity as an objector by refusing to purchase, or even allow his friends to purchase a legal exemption, or to furnish as substitute. An idealist like William Lloyd Garrison could proclaim the logic of the right of an objector to exemption, whether or not a member of a recognized pacifist sect. Lincoln stood upon high middle ground. Upon the appeal of a number of influential Quakers, he ordered the immediate release of Cyrus Pringle, whose devotion to the pacifistic ideal, Secretary of War Stanton was unable to break even with the assistance of the brutal efforts at coercion undertaken by sergeants who could not recognize the spirit of a saint and martyr. "For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds," Lincoln wrote in the fall of 1864 to Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney, a Quakeress and an abolitionist, "I have done and shall do the best I could and can, in my own conscience, under my oath to the law."[21]

Amid the trials of civil war Abraham Lincoln seems to have made an earnest effort to maintain the American tradition of civil liberty and martial law—to protect the nation from an undue encroachment of the military mind. There were tides that he could not always stem; then he devoted all his energies to getting them under control. One cannot but wonder whether these contributions may not have been more significant for the preservation of the Union and for the future of the Republic, than his reluctant assaults upon the institution of slavery. Indeed, the time seems at hand when Lincoln's career in the presidential office must be appraised as that, not of the "great emancipator" but of the "great conciliator."

Such homage was paid the martyred President in the lament of the Illinois journalist who within a ten-month had characterized the President as "a usurper and tyrant only fit to split rails:" "Illinois claims Abraham Lincoln as her gift to the nation; and receives back his lifeless body, marred by traitors, weeping, like Niobe, and refusing to be comforted. Many of us have been active opponents of his administration—have warred against him with the determination of earnest enemies. . . . In the past, we believed him to be pursuing the wrong path of policy, and we told the world so, using language the strength of which was prompted by the passions of the passing moment; but when the end drew nigh . . . we saw this man whom we had condemned, rise above party, and disregarding his private anger, if he had any, become the great conciliator."[22]

FOOT-NOTE REFERENCES.

[1]In 1840 Congress refunded certain of the fines collected from the victims of this legislation.

[2]Richardson, *Messages and papers of the President*, 1, 322.

[3]*Writings and speeches of Daniel Webster*. National edition, XV, 601-602.

[4]Nicolay and Hay, *Works of Abraham Lincoln*, II, 84.

[5]*State Register*, July 22, 1847. This sermon with another of the same date was published "by request" and offered for sale at the office of *Sangamo Journal*. It bore the title: "Two discourses on the subject of the war between the United States and Mexico; preached in the Second Presbyterian Church, in Springfield, on Sabbath, 11th July, 1847, - by Albert Hale, pastor of the church." *Sangamo Journal*, August 27, 1847.

[6]*Journal of the Illinois Constitutional Convention*, 1847, 168.

[7]*Cole, The Constitutional Debates of 1847, Illinois Historical Collections*, XIV, xxvii-xxviii, 387-390, 457.

[8]*Western Citizen*, July 20, 1847.

[9]*State Register*, July 22, 1847. *The Chicago Democrat*, July 20, 1847, in its Springfield correspondence for July 12, had a brief description of the debate in the Convention over Hale's sermon, but no editorial comment.

[10]*Sangamo Journal*, cited in *State Register*, October 1, 1847.

[11]Editorial, "The War," in *Alton Telegraph and Review*, February 26, 1847.

[12]*Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VII, 101.

[13]*Ibid.*, 102.

[14]Lincoln to Erastus Corning and others, June 12, 1863. *Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, 298-314.

[15]*Works of Abraham Lincoln*, IX, 218-223.

[16]*Illinois State Journal*, June 25, 1861.

[17]War of the Rebellion, *A compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III; II, 316.

[18]*Works of Abraham Lincoln*, VIII, 290.

[19]*Ibid.*, X, 108.

[20]War of the Rebellion, *Official Records*, Series III; V, 837-838.

[21]*Works of Abraham Lincoln*, X, 215-216.

[22]*Cairo Democrat*, May 11, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND NEW SALEM.

By William E. Barton, D. D., Litt. D.

An address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Illinois State Historical Society on their Joint Pilgrimage to New Salem, May 8, 1926.

Older than recorded history, deep-rooted in the established custom of widely varied peoples, is that habit of the human mind which associates important events with the places of their occurrence. A great deed makes and marks a memorable spot upon the surface of the earth. The habitable portion of the globe is limited in area, and men and nations move in swift procession across its green stage at the rate of three or four generations a century. Each generation has its own brief opportunity to make permanent record of its transition and to render some spot illustrious. Yet earth's notable shrines are relatively few. To them, and often from afar, men journey and have journeyed, since the times when history was as yet unborn, and the habits of the race were forming in the womb of time. The sentiment which attaches sanctity to places memorable in the traditions of mankind was ancient when the Crusades began. It may almost be said that this sentiment is the fountain-head—it is certainly one of the important tributary springs—of the literature of the world. The Pilgrimage Psalms are as notable in Holy Writ as are Chaucer's Canterbury Tales in English literature.

Old New Salem is already a recognized place of pilgrimage, and is destined to become more and more so. It is altogether appropriate that we remind ourselves of its peculiar significance among the historic spots in our national life and literature.

It is of the nature of historic shrines that each shall possess some quality of individuality. Whatever elements of similarity enable us to classify into groups the memorable places of earth, no two of them can be wholly alike. Few of them, however, possess such notable marks of distinction as old New Salem. Even a body such as this, comprised as it is of men and women some of whom are widely travelled, would find some difficulty in naming another spot with which New Salem might easily be classified.

Abandoned towns are not rare on earth. Many a proud and populous city has given place to a desert, and some of the world's most powerful capitals have disappeared in oblivion. Babylon, with the hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar lifting the city's crown above the plain, Ephesus with her temple of Diana, another of the seven wonders of the ancient world, Carthage and Palmyra and hundred-gated Thebes—

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Plat of New Salem

"Lo, all their pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre."

New Salem has no monopoly of departed glory. Nor is New Salem the only city that, having vanished, has been restored. Pompeii and Herculaneum, for purposes of archeology and of historical investigation, are unearthed, the one from its smothering shower of cinders and the other from its lake of rigid lava; and other towns, more noted in their day, in ancient Egypt and far-off Mesopotamia, are exhumed and bared again to the sunshine. But they are but tombs. Famous as were some of the men who trod their streets, no one among them all has had power to do what Lincoln's memory has done for New Salem.

The little old town of New Salem had lived its brief moment of history and was deserted. Its last log cabin had crumbled or been removed. No stone stood upon other stone above ground to mark the site of one of its dwelling-places. From having been a habitation of men it was given over to the wild life of the prairie. For three quarters of a century it remained desolate and without inhabitants. Now it rises from oblivion, and, with the more important of its buildings restored, and the site beautified, it presents to our vision a semblance of its living self.

Many monuments have been erected to Lincoln's memory but none like this. There are mural tablets marking most of the more important events in his career. The log house where he was born and the lodging-house where he died are both the property of the national government, and are made yet more significant by the reverent skill of the architect. A Greek temple in granite enshrines the humble logs of the cabin where he first saw light, and the noblest marble memorial upon this continent stands in the national capital, looking across a reflecting pool at a towering shaft erected to the memory of George Washington. Busts and statues of Lincoln in bronze or durable stone stand in many cities in this land of ours, and not a few have been erected abroad. Few men in modern history have so many monuments. But among them all there is none like this.

Not only is this restored village unique among memorials of Abraham Lincoln, but so far as I have knowledge it occupies a place of its own among the monuments of the world. Shafts and columns and portrait statues in rather monotonous profusion litter the parks and boulevards of our cities, and few of them have any distinctive character or recall names which the world will long remember, but so far as I am aware there is no other instance in which a town that had once been inhabited and was then deserted has come into being again, not for purposes of residence or of commerce, but because of the sojourn within its gates of one particular man.

What was New Salem in the time of its building?

It was not originally a shrine or monument; it was a typical prairie town, and it perished.

One remembers the pathos of Oliver Goldsmith in that best

loved of his poems, the "Deserted Village." With very little change we might adapt his lines to New Salem.

"Sweet Auburn! lovliest village of the plain,
Where health and plenty cheered the laboring swain,
Where smiling Spring its earliest visits paid,
And parting summer's lingering blooms delayed!
How often have I paused on every charm,
The sheltered cot, the cultivated farm,
The never-failing brook, the busy mill,
The decent church that topped the neighboring hill."

To be sure New Salem had no distinct place of worship. Church services here as in most pioneer communities were held in the school house or sometimes in the tavern. But otherwise the poet's picture might almost be exhibited as that of the village on whose soil our feet are now standing, and if we were to go further into the details of Goldsmith's poem we should find more to remind us of rural life as it was lived here,—the healthful labor, the simple joys, the family life and the activities of the community, the merrymakings with feats of strength and country dances,

"The bashful virgin's sidelong looks of love—
The matron's glance that would those looks reprove,"

all these and all related to them belong to New Salem.

Brief was its history, and briefly may we outline it. The land was entered on July 29, 1828, by Rev. John M. Cameron and his uncle, by marriage, James Rutledge. These two men previously had entered land at Sand Ridge, on the waters of Concord Creek, their patent dating February 8, 1828, but a single season there showed that the waters of Concord Creek were inadequate for the mill they desired to erect. This disappointment caused a change in their plans, and brought about the ambitious project of damming the Sangamon River and erecting here the grist- and saw-mill which was the basic business industry of New Salem. On October 23, 1829, the town was surveyed by Reuben S. Harrison. John M. Cameron held the legal title, and the town was recorded with the name of New Salem.

It stood high upon this bluff over the Sangamon River, a full hundred feet above the level of the water. It was located on a promontory caused partly by a bend in the river and partly by the inflow of a creek. It was beautiful for situation, and its name and the religious character of its founders indicate the hope that here was to be not only a town of commercial importance but one also characterized by a fine moral sentiment and a distinctly religious spirit. A post-office was established on Christmas day of 1829. Samuel Hill was the first postmaster. He served for nearly two years till November 26, 1831, when he was succeeded by Isaac N. Chrisman. Mr. Chrisman served as postmaster till May 7, 1833, when he was succeeded by Abraham Lincoln, who continued to act in this capacity till the office was discontinued,

May 30, 1836. There is now a post-office in Illinois bearing the name of New Salem, but it is located in Pike County, and is entirely distinct from this. Lincoln's New Salem was then in Sangamon County, and in this part which is now Menard.

The discontinuance of the post-office marks the disappearance of the town. The chronological limits of community life here, between the date of the survey, October 23, 1829, and the discontinuance of the post-office, May 30, 1836, is less than seven years. For six of these seven years Abraham Lincoln was a resident of this town. He first arrived here on April 19, 1831, and remained until the Spring of 1837. It was a highly important period in his life. In the day of its greatest glory New Salem was a very small town. It probably never had more than twenty houses and it is doubtful if any one of those cost more than one hundred dollars. But to Abraham Lincoln it was not a poor, squalid prairie village; it was the largest town he had ever lived in, and he was twenty-two years old on his first arrival here.

For so small a community it contained a remarkable group of men and women. There were people who could not write their names and some who did not know the names of their fathers, but there were others whose family names stood high in American history. There were some who had, for the time and for Abraham Lincoln's purpose, quite remarkable educational attainments. Here were assembled such men as Dr. John Allen, the beloved physician, Sunday-school superintendent and temperance worker, and Mentor Graham who taught Lincoln grammar and mathematics, and Jack Kelso, a kind of wandering elocutionist who taught Lincoln to love Shakespeare and Burns and Byron. Religiously, New Salem contained the devout Cumberland Presbyterians, Rev. John M. Cameron and James Rutledge, and the turbulent Baptists of the Bale household, and it enjoyed the occasional visitations of that heroic Methodist pioneer, Peter Cartwright. On the other hand it had a group of radical freethinkers to whom Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Volney's "Ruins" stood for law and gospel. Here gathered the Clary Grove boys, as reckless a set of hard riders and hard drinkers as could well be imagined, together with men who came up the river "half-horse, half-alligator," while on the other hand there were people eminent for piety and gentle in their saintliness. It was Abraham Lincoln's first intimate contact with organized community life, and he had in this simple village a remarkable variety of living examples of widely varying types.

Great as this town seemed to Lincoln and to those who inhabited it and who proclaimed its superiority to Springfield and Beardstown and other nearby metropolises, no one expected it was always going to be a small town. New Salem was a dream city, the vision of its future was based on the dream of a navigable Sangamon floating outward to civilization the large products of adjacent farms and bringing back the manufactured products of the industrial world.

We may smile at these ambitious visions of hopes that were doomed before they were born. New Salem at its best was a microscopic town. But we who live in America must learn to estimate cities otherwise than by their size. Athens was a small town in the days of Pericles; and Nazareth and Bethlehem were, and are, and always have been, small towns.

New Salem is associated with many and important events in the life of Abraham Lincoln. To this town he first came as an adventurer on his way the second time to New Orleans. If James Rutledge had not built his dam in a manner unfavorable to the progress of flat boats, or if the waters of the deep snow of the winter of 1830-31 had not so far subsided by the nineteenth of April as to interfere with the flat-boat's navigation of the stream, New Salem never would have heard of Abraham Lincoln, and we should never have heard of New Salem. Here he lodged, as he afterward said, like a piece of drift-wood, on the dam of the Rutledge mill, and here he spent those six highly important years.

In New Salem Abraham Lincoln first exercised his franchise as a citizen. Here he cast his first vote in an election held in the house of John McNeil whom later he and Lincoln students were to know as John McNamar.

In New Salem Abraham Lincoln had his experience as a business man, first as the clerk of Denton Offutt, then as a clerk in the stores of Chrisman and Hill, and finally as a partner in the disastrous commercial enterprise with William F. Berry whose failure left Lincoln saddled with a heavy debt which he did not wholly remove till 1848.

Here he manifested his prowess as an athlete. He met in free combat all comers and established his reputation not only as the most powerful wrestler in New Salem but also as its fairest referee and supreme judge in tests of strength and masculine skill.

From this place Lincoln went forth to enlist as a soldier in the Black Hawk War. Not on the spot, for the election was not held here, but by the vote of men whom he had come to know here and who went with him on that military venture, he was elected a captain, and afterwards said that no office he ever held gave him so much pride.

Here he held his first office under the federal government, serving as postmaster for the period already named, from May 7, 1833, until the discontinuance of the office, May 30, 1836.

Here, less than a year after his first arrival, he proclaimed himself a candidate for office, and polled a surprisingly large vote for the legislature, carrying this precinct and the Clary Grove neighborhood by almost unanimous vote, and so nearly succeeding in that first venture as to give practical assurance of his success when he ran again, as he did, two, four, six and eight years after. It was not here but at Vandalia where the capital then was that he framed his first public declaration against slavery,

signing with Dan Stone that protest against the action of the legislature which has since become famous the world around; but while the act was performed in the then state capital, many of the discussions which lay behind it had taken place in the grocery stores in New Salem.

Here Lincoln's interest in waterways developed as he worked a summer in the Rutledge mill and in the ability which he displayed as river pilot in the navigation of the steamer, Talisman.

New Salem was Lincoln's Alma Mater. Here, as we have reminded ourselves, he studied grammar and surveying and literature. Here also he acquired his first set of Blackstone and read such law books as provided his meager preparation for admission to the bar. His law license was issued September 9, 1836, and his admission to practice in the courts of Illinois was dated March 1, 1837.* Here, he obtained that knowledge of the common law which enabled him to secure admission to the bar and formed the basis for his professional career.

Here Lincoln made his first influential friendships. He came to New Salem a stranger, he left with a considerable group of friends. He came with his capacity for leadership untrained, he left having established his power over men in military and civil affairs, in the free arena where men match physical strength, and in intellectual contests where he showed his mastery of mind. Here he thought through many of his life problems. He went forth lonely and in debt with many years of struggle ahead of him, but for those years and for that struggle he had been well prepared by this period of his life in New Salem.

In New Salem Lincoln had two love affairs. Of his love for Ann Rutledge we know almost nothing and talk much. That beautiful and sweet young woman died August 25, 1835, and we have no contemporary record of or allusion to her death. Such glimpses as we have of Lincoln in that summer and autumn reveal nothing unusual in his occupation or his state of mind. We have one side light on the plans of Ann Rutledge. From a letter of her brother David written from Jacksonville shortly before her death, and which I shall presently quote, we know that she was considering going to school at the Female Academy at Jacksonville in the autumn of 1835, and we also know that Lincoln had some thought of the possibility of entering college in that same fall. He owned a book of Greek exercises which he apparently procured at this period, and he weighed the advantages and the costs of a possible college education, but we have not a scrap of written evidence concerning Ann Rutledge in her love for Abraham Lincoln and his for her for more than thirty-one years and we have the best of reasons to believe that much of that is unreliable. Of his love affair with Mary Owens a few months later we have abundance of evidence. We have Lincoln's letter to her and his own very full account of

*Information received from Clerk of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

the affair in his letter to Mrs. O. H. Browning. We also have Mary's detailed narrative in writing. It is a little remarkable but on the whole characteristic of much of our writing and oratory that we say almost nothing about Lincoln's love for Mary Owens, a proud, handsome, well-bred, well-educated young woman and that we talk a great deal of the other matter on which our evidence is so scanty and that mostly wrong. We will make no mistake in standing reverently by the grave of Ann Rutledge, which is no longer in the Old Concord Cemetery but is near at hand in the village of Petersburg. We may remind ourselves, however, that Ann Rutledge did not die in New Salem but in the earlier farm home at Sand Ridge near Concord Creek.

Contemporary documentary material relating to Lincoln's life in this community is fairly abundant and of widely varied interest.

I have referred to, and will presently read, a letter which was placed for a time in my hands by the last surviving sister of Ann Rutledge, and I believe is ultimately to find a home in this Museum at New Salem.

The last sister of Ann Rutledge, Sarah Rutledge Saunders, died in Lompoc, California, May 1, 1922. For some years before her death I was in correspondence with her, and, in the summer of 1921, I went to California and visited her and made a photograph of her. She was at that time in bed with a broken hip, but was able to be lifted, and I lifted her into a wheeled chair, and rolled her out into the sunshine and made a picture of her, the last that was taken, as I suppose, for from that bed she did not arise thereafter, except for a few moments at a time to rest, and this at infrequent and lengthening intervals.

With her, and with a considerable number of nieces and nephews and her one surviving son, I discussed all phases of the question concerning Lincoln and Ann Rutledge. What I am now giving relates to this matter of the desire of Ann that she should go to school, and that Abraham also should secure a better education to fit him for the large work which even then he believed he had before him.

It is not surprising that Ann Rutledge believed that Lincoln was to accomplish great things. Mary Todd believed that. Indeed, Mary Todd firmly believed that he would some day be President. Ann Rutledge had no such thought as that; but her family had in it a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a Governor, and some judges, and other officials. Lincoln had been a candidate for the Legislature in 1832, and on his second attempt in 1834, had been successful, and she had heard him and his friends talk in the Rutledge Tavern about his political future. Of course she believed in him, and wanted the best for him that could be secured. And she wanted to be fitted to be the wife of such a great man as she thought he was sure to be.

This tradition is clear in the Rutledge family, and I had it

from "Aunt Sally Saunders," her sister, and from others of the Rutledge connection.

Where did she plan that she should go to school, and what were Lincoln's plans if she had lived?

Their plan was that he should go to Illinois College at Jacksonville, and that she should attend the Female Academy at the same time and in the same town.

David Rutledge, Ann's brother, was a student at Illinois College at the time of the courtship of Lincoln and Ann. At least two other young men from New Salem were students there. They were friends of Lincoln. Lincoln had more or less definitely in mind the possibility of his going to college. It was more than a possibility. There were three colleges then in Illinois, and Lincoln knew of them all and had opportunity of attending any one of them. If he had attended any, it would certainly have been Illinois College at Jacksonville.

I learned from "Aunt Sally" that she had one letter addressed to Ann, the only letter the family had that Ann received from anyone, and perhaps the only one that was addressed to her by any member of her own household. This letter she loaned to me, with the privilege of use. To my great delight, I found it had an important bearing upon the question of Ann's plans for an education. The letter was written to her from Jacksonville, where her brother David was in college, and it dealt directly with her own purpose to go to school in that town the next autumn, and he encouraged the plan. It was really three letters in one, all on the two sides of one sheet, with room still saved for the address. The main letter was to David's father, James Rutledge. The first postscript was to Ann. The second postscript was to James Kittridge, concerning the district school at Sand Ridge, where the Rutledges had their farm. The letters are in the stiff and formal language of the time. Postage cost a good deal, and David had opportunity to save postage by sending this letter by a schoolmate. The letter to his father read thus:

College Hill, July 27, 1835.

Dear Father:—

The passing of Mr. Blood from this place to that affords me an opportunity of writing you a few lines. I have thus far enjoyed good health, and the students generally are well. I have not collected any things of Brooks, except that I agreed to take his paper as I thought that that would be better than nothing at all, though he says he could pay the order in about two months. L. M. Greene is up at home at this time trying to get a school, and I had concluded to quit this place and goe to him until the commencement of the next term, but I could not get off without paying for the whole term, therefore I concluded to stay here.

If Mr. Blood calls on you to stay all night, please to entertain him free of cost, as he is one of my fellow students and I

believe him to be a good religious young man. I add nomore, but remain yours with respect until death.

D. H. Rutledge.

To James Rutledge:—

It will be noted that a year's subscription to a newspaper, though not greatly prized, was considered better than nothing, and that an editor's promise to pay in two months was not rated highly.

The Greene brothers, to one of whom this letter makes reference, were friends of David Rutledge, as they were of Abraham Lincoln, and their home-coming for vacation teaching must have been a matter of general comment in New Salem.

The second postscript had to do with school teaching. McGrady Rutledge, a nephew of James and cousin of David, had been asked to secure the teaching of the Sand Ridge school for another student named Porter. The Sand Ridge school was near the Rutledge farm, though several miles from New Salem. To Sand Ridge the Rutledge family retired after the Tavern failed, and there Ann and her father died. We may quote, out of its order, the second postscript, which is to James Kittridge:

P. S.—I wish you to send McGrada's letter to him immediately as it requests him to attend to the school on Sand Ridge for Mr. Porter and also I want intelligence to come the next mail concerning it. I add nomore.

D. H. Rutledge.

James Kittridge.

David spelled "nomore" as a single word, and that was the way it was pronounced in formal discourse, a kind of "Amen." It was a word sometimes uttered with great solemnity in sermons, a word of two syllables, accented on the second.

The first postscript is the part of the letter of the greatest interest. It reads:

To Anna Rutledge:

Valued Sister. So far as I can understand Miss Graves will teach another school in the Diamond Grove. I am glad to hear that you have a notion of comeing to school, and I earnestly recommend to you that you would spare no time from improving your education and mind. Remember that Time is worth more than all gold therefore throw away none of your golden moments. I add nomore, but &c.

D. H. Rutledge.

Anna Rutledge.

This letter is in full accord with the Rutledge tradition. Ann Rutledge and Lincoln were engaged to be married, and she desired to wait at least a year to attend The Jacksonville Female Academy. This, the only Girls' Seminary in Jacksonville in 1835, was merged with Illinois College in 1903. Ann had written or sent to her brother an inquiry concerning the school, and of her

hope to be a student there in the fall of 1835. Lincoln, as he and she dreamed over the matter together, was to have entered Illinois College, at least for a year.

Ann Rutledge must have been sick when her brother wrote this letter. It was dated July 27, 1835, and she died August 25, 1835, after a sickness of about six weeks. Lincoln was not living in the house in which she died. He went over, riding from New Salem to Sand Ridge, and visited her once during her illness. What they said to each other no one knows.

No one remembers the funeral of Ann Rutledge. "Aunt Sally" had rather a clear impression that her cousin, Rev. John Cameron, conducted the service. He was a Cumberland Presbyterian, as were the family of the Rutledges. The father of that sect, Rev. James McGrady, was a personal friend of the family, and James Rutledge was converted under his ministry.

What would have happened if Ann Rutledge had lived, and she had gone to the Jacksonville Female Academy in the autumn of 1835, and Abraham Lincoln at the same time had entered Illinois College?

Could Lincoln have gone to college? Certainly he could. Other young men as little prepared in education and with as little money did go to Illinois College. Newton Bateman, whom Lincoln was to know well as State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Illinois, starved his way through Illinois College, and Richard Yates, the War Governor, went there, and Richard Oglesby got through two years at Mount Morris. These were Lincoln's contemporaries, and they were, some of them, as poor as he. Lincoln could have gone to college, and if Ann Rutledge had lived, he probably would have gone.

I do not think that Ann Rutledge planned to go to Jacksonville unless Lincoln also went. She had had one love affair that ended unhappily, and she was not likely to go away deliberately and leave her lover for a year. The Rutledge tradition appears to me to have every appearance of probability, that the plan of Ann to attend the Female Academy was thought out jointly by Abraham and Ann, and had joined to it his plan for at least a year of study at Illinois College.

There are other interesting and valuable contemporary documents. The poll sheets of New Salem's elections, at several of which Abraham Lincoln served as clerk, are in the Library of the Illinois State Historical Society. There, also, are several very interesting letters, and a number of other letters are in the Museum here at New Salem. I have in my hand one unpublished letter, which gives what I think is the most vivid picture of this community to be found in any known contemporary document. I will read it presently and with comment.

Mr. Oliver R. Barrett has in his admirable collection a survey made in November, 1835, by Abraham Lincoln, of a lot sold by Bowling Green to Matthew S. Marsh. This young and intelligent citizen voted at an election held in the New Salem precinct,

in the house of Nelson Alley, August 3, 1835, when Peter Cartwright was running for the State Senatorship in place of George Forquer resigned. Mr. Marsh had come from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the place of his nativity, a few years previously, and he later became a prominent resident of Cass County. Mr. Barrett owns and permits me to read this most interesting letter written by this same man, September 17, 1835, to his brother, George M. Marsh of Portsmouth.

This letter speaks in some detail of the Postmaster, Mr. Lincoln, as a very careless man, who left the office open and the mail where anyone could enter and handle it. He speaks of Lincoln as a friend of his, and of his confidence that Lincoln will frank his letter, which Lincoln did, for the outside sheet bears his signature and frank. The letter is so accurate a picture of the place and time, I am gladly availing myself of Mr. Barrett's permission to read it here.

(Outside)

Free, A. Lincoln, P. M.
New Salem, Ill., Sept. 22.

Mr. George M. Marsh,
Portsmouth, N. H.

(Inside)

New Salem, September 17th, 1835.

Dear Folks:

I have received your letters of July 21st and Aug. 26th, the latter came to hand yesterday enclosing the $100. The time had expired that I borrowed the money for: having depended on Clarke's return before this. I had limited the time to 6 weeks from 3rd Aug.—but his non. arrival made the rec't of yrs. quite opportune. The Post Master (Mr. Lincoln) is very careless about leaving his office open and unlocked during the day—half the time I go in and get my papers etc. without any one being there as was the case yesterday. The letter was only marked 25 and even if he had been there and known it was double, he would not have charged me any more—luckily he is a very clever fellow and a particular friend of mine. If he is there when I carry this to the office—I will get him to "Frank" it—I do not know who could have cut off the figures from my former papers—the side margin is the best place to put them—the corner is often very much worn so as to render the writing or figures that may be on it unintelligible.

I will take the July letter first in hand, although there is but little that requires an answer in it. I should think that farming as it is carried on in this country would be an employment that would suit George and by engaging his attention would dispel ennui, which feeling is almost inseparable from an inactive life. The mind must be engaged on something, or if it has not

external objects to act upon it, will turn inwardly and create dulness and abstraction.

This climate is rather damp than dry and subject to sudden changes, but we seldom have an East wind and it never rains from that quarter. It almost invariably storms from the S. W. which wind blows ¾ of the year. The winter sets in about 1st of Jany. and lasts 6 or 8 weeks.

Billious Fever and Ague and Fever prevails more or less throughout the state particularly in the south where the land is flat or wet. I do not know that it is healthier in the northern than in the middle counties. Morgan and Sangamon are two as good counties as is in the state.

The River towns and in fact any situation near the water or swampy grounds is quite unhealthy, the country being so level that the water courses move quite slow—The milk sickness which I presume is little known in the East as those who live in such places keep the knowledge of it to themselves in order that they may have a chance of selling out. It exists in many of the Southern Counties and those that border on the Wabash—such places are by all means to be avoided, for neither the milk or the flesh of the cattle that are affected by it can be used. The true cause has not yet been ascertained but is supposed to spring from the stock eating some weed when the dew is on it. Most of the Emigrants to this state from the South came and still come in their waggons and always camp out and expose themselves very much after their arrival which is enough to make any one sick; and then the first settlers had no conveniences and when taken sick had no Doctor or physic and were obliged to wear out the diseases. Either of these diseases readily give way to medicine and are the only ones we have here, so the Doctors have acquired a perfect knowledge of them. The Ague and Fever can be cured in 2 days at the expense of $1 or $2. Two or three remedies have been made known in a year, that stop it on every one who has taken it—I used considerable Quinin last fall but it only stops it a short time for the least cold a person gets afterwards renders its return certain. It does not let me have an intermission of more than a week—what is singular it comes only in warm weather and the subject has a great appetite when the fever is not on. This summer my health has been extremely good. I have made use of Bitters made of Indian turnip, Blood root and sarsaparilla, the first is very warming, the latter two are excellent for the blood. I have no fear of the ague now —there has been more sickness this summer than was ever known before—deaths however are rare and I am of opinion that as a general thing people enjoy better health here than in the East for there is hardly a family there but what has some member of it afflicted with some local Complaint or other which I think may be attributed to their manner of living; while here all the food is simple, people are never sick except in Aug. and Sept. and we have not any lingering Complaints like the Consumption.

I must acknowledge that florid complexions are more rare than in the East. For my own part I am well satisfied with the Country and much prefer living here than in N. England.

Caroline is a good natured girl and this is all that be said in her favour, there was never any congeniality between us—her mind wants discipline.

Emily possessed a more vigorous imagination which gave impulse to her feelings tinctured her conversation with good ideas and rendered her on the whole very pleasing. It was altogether the mind expressed in her countenance and not her features that were attractive. I was made a fool of once and may be again but I now have some experience in affairs of the heart. It seems H. P. is lost to me. I sent 3 weeks since a paper containing a description of this country to I. W. P. The alterations Geo found in his visit to Nd. were probably as great as is to be met with. I was aware of the change when I made my delightful excursions there. The Miss H's are worth looking after. What C. C. wrote about my being attractive to a "sucker girl" has some truth in it—Yes! her name is Martha Jane Short and lives in Morgan County on Indian Creek, the timber of which can be seen from here distant 13 miles across a Prairie in the S. West direction. She possesses more qualities which assimilate with my peculiar disposition and comes nearer to the standard of what I consider essential in a wife than any other girl I have ever seen. In stature middling height and slim—Light brown hair, black eyes, which suppress half their fire until she speaks, then through their soft disguise will flash an expression more of pride than ire and of love than either.—Her age 20. Such is all the description I can give of the girl who at present stands highest in my estimation. How long she will continue to do so, I cannot assure even myself, as I have naturally a fickle disposition.—But as I have told you all in a previous letter if you would come here to live I will never marry but devote all my attention to seeing you made happy. I have one objection to marrying in this state and that is, the women have such an everlasting number of children, twelve is the least number that can be counted on. The natural increase of this state is greater than any other, which, with Emigration will run the population this census (1835) to at least 250 or 300,000.

I am glad there is some enterprise left among the Portsmouth capitalists and that you have the Railroad in prospect. If Real Estate rises in value in consequence of the contemplated work—sell out and come here where the money can be so much more advantageously invested.

I am sensible of the difficulties to be encountered in winding up. Mr. B. appears very friendly to me and I believe is a little afraid of getting me displeased. I heard from M. and S. A. in a letter dated about 20th July in which S. A. told me of her beaux —Your letters (that from N. Y. and Portsm.) arrived together as usually happens.—I have not heard from W. Melcher. Sorry

Geo. did not see the Lillys. I still have my eye or rather mind on 3 girls there and they are Martha,—L. J. Hill and Miss Giles,—Do let me know how the latter comes on—don't fail. You ask is there a prospect of my place growing rapidly. I suppose you must mean New Salem—No; that stopped 2 years since. A Town (in a bad place) 2 miles lower down on the River is likely to become the County Seat of a New County which will be made by dividing this and taking some off of others.—This County is now—miles square. The town (Petersburg) is only one by name, having but 2 stores and a Cobbler's shop.

S. Haven acted indiscreetly in regard to the Turnbull affair —I hardly expected Clarke to go to P.—as I look for him every day and the mail does not go out till the 22nd. I will omit till then a conclusive answer in regard to the money: and the Article sent by him.

I have no hesitation in saying that money could not be better invested than in land and there is not any question of its safety. Land will always be valuable here as every foot of it is suseptible of cultivation—No stones or broken land to obstruct the free course of the plough. Not less than 75,000 acres is entered monthly at the Springfield Land Office. Speculators are taking it up wherever they can find. Some individuals have entered 20,-000 acres in one day. Prairie and timber adjoining cannot be entered any where in the state. It is difficult finding where the unentered lands lay, nothing can be found out from the settlers as they wish the range open. The land is not surveyed to the buyer, who must look the land out and procure the numbers. If the land is adjacent to any he owns, he can guess pretty near—one person is not allowed to enter but 2—40 acre lots and then has to take an oath that he wants them for farming purposes and not for speculation or in trust for another.

I have already entered my 2—40s. Any one can enter as many 80s as they choose. There is some first rate prairie about 2 miles S. W. of this that I could enter 160 acres of, as a Company intend taking the whole tract and I could almost oblige them to take this. What retards them is the difficulty of getting timber of which there is none to enter any where near this. Distance appears the same on these prairies as on water and in fact as there are no hills 2 miles is as easy to haul over as one is with you. I do not know, but what there has been more land entered the past year than there had the five preceding—I hope they will find the coal on Gerrish's Island. I wish my Coal Beds were located somewhere there as the Blacksmith says it is superior to any he can get.

M. S.M.

On the night of the 17th August a tornado passed over this place, laid the fences flat, rooted up trees, blew down corn and done other damage. The next morn by daylight as I was putting up my fence 2 great wolves walked along unconcerned within 50 yards of me—I tried to scare them by taking off my hat and

running towards them but they would not quicken their gait—these are the only ones I have seen.

High winds seem to be common everywhere this year, so the papers say. There has been a flock of wild turkies round my house since I cut my oats and as I had not shot at them but twice they were pretty tame. Seeing them last week I took out my gun which had a great charge in it (that I intended to shoot a Bull with, who had badly hooked Clarke's horse) and as their heads all go up together when they see any one I let drive and shot five, but could not catch but 3, had I a dog or another person with me I could have saved all. Prairie Hens are very plenty this fall, they are all the color of a "gray duck" and their feathers lay closer to them than to barnyard fowls. With a trap a person could catch as many as they could eat during the winter. Partridges are too small game to shoot at. If you were only here, we could live like princes.

I do not know exactly where I shall go yet,—but if no better chance offers, I shall teach a private school on Indian Creek, Morgan County, where M. J. S. lives. As N. Salem is the nearest postoffice, you can still send there. I wish your house, barn and shop could be transported here and then how happy could we live together. They would be worth $2500 here.

There is still a 40 acre lot west of No. 8 but I can't enter it, but luckily a speculator can't either. C. has also a lot west, which he can and will enter. When we came we could have entered N. W. or South, but then we thought there was so much land in the state that no one would want any so far out and that we could have the use of it for nothing, but the Emigration has been Enormous. If I had laid out $2000 in land round here (say within 3 miles) when I came, it would have been worth $10,000 now, but as I before said, I had no idea of its value.

A Canal route 2 miles East of my farm and half a mile from my timber is about being surveyed.

Love to all.

M. S. M.

Sept. 20.

M. J. S. very much resembles Mehitable.

Two or three items in this letter will bear comment.

First, we discover that even in September, 1835, New Salem was manifestly doomed. Lincoln was not among the first to see it; he was more nearly among the last. The Rutledges and Camerons had departed to Sand Ridge, where they were tenants in their old homes, the property of that shrewd financier, John McNamar, or McNeil as he had previously been called. McNamar had once made love to Ann Rutledge, but her family distrusted him, as well they might after learning that he had been masquerading under a false name, a name assumed, as he explained, for the unfilial reason of protecting himself from the support of his needy parents in New York State. McNamar apparently had

lost his love for Ann Rutledge as soon as her father failed in business, and having been recalled to New York State to the tardy and begrudged assistance of his dying father and widowed mother, had no inclination to assume responsibility for Ann Rutledge's impoverished family or that of the equally impoverished household of Ann's cousins, with the disappointed miller-preacher, John Cameron, his wife and eleven daughters. John McNamar never let sentiment interfere with success in financial matters. Already he had the Rutledge farm and the Cameron farm—why should he marry a girl who might bring with her neither land nor gold, but a lot of relatives, some of them aging and the rest dependent girls? He permitted Ann Rutledge and her father to die in their old home, no longer theirs, and then turned the widowed mother of Ann Rutledge out to shift for herself, and was unable to identify the grave either of Ann Rutledge or of his own mother buried in the same cemetery near her. But thirty years later he told William H. Herndon that it was his sentimental regard for the memory of Ann Rutledge that led him to procure the farm where she died, and pull down the double log-cabin in which she and her father bade farewell to earth, and by its removal make room for his own fine large house, erected in that Naboth's vineyard, the Rutledge door-yard. He also modestly told Herndon, and Herndon unfortunately believed him and told the world, that Ann Rutledge had loved him, John McNeil-McNamar, with so tenacious an affection that she never could give her whole heart to Abraham Lincoln, and that Lincoln had mourned so disconsolately for Ann that he went insane, and never sufficiently recovered to love the woman whom he married. Herndon wiped his eyes as he listened to this contemptible lie, and in a month the world was given this silly and shameful story. The simple truth is that Lincoln and Ann Rutledge loved each other with whole-hearted affection, and that she and her father died of malarial or typhoid fever in the late summer of 1835. And John McNamar was in New York State at the time of her death, and any affection Ann had ever felt for him was far in the past and had no remotest relation to her sickness and decease.

The letter of Matthew Marsh states that there was an unusual amount of sickness in the late summer of 1835, but few deaths up to the date of the letter, September 22. Ann Rutledge had then died, not here but at Sand Ridge, and her father was sick but had not yet died.

It is interesting to note that the tornado which Marsh describes, a storm of such severity as to terrorize even the wolves, occurred exactly one week before Ann's death. You can picture the anxiety in the Rutledge cabin, and the dying girl terrified by the tempest. It must have been a tragic night to that already sorrowful family.

We have good reason to believe that the death of Ann Rutledge profoundly saddened her lover. But Mary Owens, to whose

heart he soon laid siege, and who was related by marriage to half the women of New Salem, could not remember ever to have heard of her, and Joshua Fry Speed, to whom Lincoln bared his heart as never in all his life to any other man, said, "it was all new to him," and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, as her nieces declare, could hardly recall the tradition beyond the fact that there had been such a girl whom Lincoln had honorably loved in his youth, and who died. Virtually she knew all that anyone knows, and all there is to be known. The rest is partly the unworthy creation of John McNamar and the imagination of sentimental writers.

We notice that Matthew S. Marsh, writing three weeks after Ann Rutledge's death, had no question in his mind of Lincoln's ability to attend to his duties as postmaster, and that Lincoln did so attend to them, franking his letter in a firm hand on September 22, and that a little later Lincoln made the survey for Marsh and computed the measurements and area of the lot which Bowling Green sold to Matthew S. Marsh, and Lincoln's mind was apparently normal so far as measurements, computation, draughtsmanship and penmanship can disclose the condition of a mind.

I must comment on Matthew S. Marsh's reminiscence of the otherwise unknown "H. P." whom he had loved and lost, and of his sad memory that he had been made a fool of by one girl, and believed that thereby he had learned wisdom. Most men in this audience have at sometime confided some such information to paper. You will notice how many girls he discussed and appraised, and how he looked across his paragraphs and the prairie thirteen miles in the direction of Indian Creek where Martha Jane Short resided. You will have noticed, too, that masculine evasion of any responsible share on the part of a prospective husband for the dozen children that might be expected if a New Englander married an Illinois girl. Adam himself could not more gracefully have sheltered himself behind Eve.

But this apprehension did not cause him to view the charms of Martha Jane in detachment. Reading his detailed description of her, who can blame him for looking from this elevation in the direction of Indian Creek?

And his last postscript recurred to "M. J. S." She resembled Mehitable—who must have been someone his relatives knew—and probably some one he knew they thought beautiful.

A lover is hard put to it when he describes his lady as being like some other girl. Other people say, "She is like her sister." He says, "She is like a star." Other people say, "She resembles her mother." He says—

"My love is like a red, red rose
That's lately sprung in June:
My love is like a melody
That's sweetly played in tune."

But Matthew could not trust these descriptions as carrying

to his relatives the picture of Martha Jane—"She very much resembles Mehitable"—that was the best he could do—under the circumstances.

I have not learned who Mehitable was. She, whom Matthew Sheafe Marsh used as a measure and ideal of womankind was probably a relative, and certainly not a rival of Martha. When, in due time, a daughter was born to Mr. and Mrs. Matthew S. Marsh, she was given the name of Sarah Mehitable. This is the daughter for whose education the Marsh family removed for a time to Jacksonville. Sarah Mehitable Marsh, daughter of Matthew Sheafe Marsh, formerly of Portsmouth, N. H., but then resident in Springfield, Illinois, was married July 25, 1863, to John B. Mayo, for many years a prominent jeweler in Chicago. She is still remembered as a worthy and attractive woman. This is no more than we might expect of a young woman who had inherited the virtues of Martha Jane Short and the name of the lovely Mehitable.

You will desire to know something further of the fortunes of Matthew S. Marsh, particularly with reference to his relations with Martha Jane Short. For the information I am to give you, as for much beside and that through a series of years, I am indebted to the patient and painstaking assistance of Miss Georgia L. Osborne of the Illinois State Historical Society. Matthew S. Marsh removed from New Salem precinct. His name does not recur on the polling lists after 1837. He removed to Indian Creek in Morgan County, and taught school there. From his letter, although it is not wholly free from errors, we may be sure that he was a competent teacher. His wooing of Martha Jane is not recorded, and was probably uneventful, but it terminated happily. Mr. Oliver R. Barrett is my authority for some further knowledge concerning her. He tells me she was one of three children of Stephen Short, who had come from Long Lick, Washington County, Kentucky, and that the Short land patent is dated 1826 and refers to land entered in 1820. If Stephen Short brought his family with him at the beginning of his settlement, Martha Jane had spent seventeen of her twenty years in Illinois, when Matthew wrote. Her birth place was in the county where Abraham Lincoln's father grew to manhood; Stephen Short and his prospective wife may even have been at the wedding of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, June 12, 1806; we do not know. But Martha was born near where the Lincolns lived. Mr. Barrett says that Mr. and Mrs. Matthew S. Marsh made their home in Prentice, Morgan County, where he kept a general store, and that they then lived for a time in Springfield, and later went to Jacksonville to educate a daughter, presumably in what later became the Illinois Woman's College, whose President, William F. Short was presumably a relative. Mr. Barrett further says that Matthew S. Marsh and his wife later moved to Chicago, and became active members of a church on the West Side. Their home was on Washington Boulevard, and he died in prayer-meeting in the very act of public prayer.

It remains to say something about New Salem as it is now restored and in process of some further possible restoration. The detailed narrative of this interesting and worthy undertaking is to be found in the booklet "Lincoln and New Salem," issued by "The Old Salem-Lincoln League of Petersburg," who deserve high commendation for their initiation of and continued interest in this enterprise. Not always is such an undertaking grounded in such strong and effective local sentiment.

This stone museum is, of course, a wholly modern structure, dignified, unobtrusive, and commendably harmonious with its surroundings. While there is no attempt to incorporate it into the original plan of the town, as might have been done by the erection of a combustible log structure, it is worthily planned and located, and is satisfactory. Already it is the depository of valuable gifts, and increasingly will become the home of such relics as ought to be here.

The buildings thus far re-erected are builded out of log houses conveniently near to the site of old New Salem. In only one or two instances has it been possible, nor could it have been necessary, to find the identical logs that were once in houses on this plateau. Those, for the most part have perished. But these logs are fitted to the proportions of the original buildings. The old survey shows the size, location and ownership of the lots. On a number of them the original foundations, or at least the stone corners, have been found. The buildings already restored are those most intimately associated with Lincoln. They are, first the Offutt Store, where Lincoln was first employed, and the Rutledge Tavern where for a part of the time he boarded. Then, on the south side of the road that was the main street, the Berry and Lincoln Store, and, in its proper location, the Hill and McNamar store. A part of the house of Dr. John Allen, the beloved physician, has been re-erected, and finally, out of its original logs, as is believed, the Onstott Cooper Shop, a favorite loafing place. These constitute a full quarter of the original houses. So far as I am aware, there is no present plan to add immediately to this list, and there is no reason for haste. Yet it would be strange if a plan so well begun were not carried further, and those who visit this spot in twenty-five or fifty years may possibly see every one of the original houses restored as they were in 1835. It would be safe to make a guarded prophecy that a movement to complete this village may be looked for not later than nine years from now, the time of New Salem's possible centennial.

We who are here today are near enough to the beginnings of this completed scheme to have some of the sensations of pioneers, while seeing a sufficient accomplishment of the plan to indicate what it may eventually become.

Of all the various and widely separated habitations associated with the memory of Lincoln through his successive residences in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Washington, and his

journeys as far westward as Kansas and east to New England, there is none that thrills the historian with such diversified interest as the spot on which this notable assembly is now convened.

Hodgenville brings us in reverent awe to the place of his birth. Washington cherishes with solemnity the room where he died in the hour of his triumph. Gentryville honors the scenes of his lusty youth, and his own city, Springfield, has innumerable associations with his domestic and professional career. The seven cities where he matched strength with Stephen A. Douglas, the more than twice seven county seats of the Eighth Judicial District whose circuit he rode, and the places where on occasion he addressed assemblies large or small, thrill each of them with its own cherished recollections of him. Beardstown, where his plea saved a widow's son from the gallows, and Gettysburg where he uttered in immortal words an imperishable tribute to the nation's honored dead, together with his faith in the principles which their death made deathless, still echo with the memory of his eloquence. But no one place appeals to so many emotions or touches us at so many points of interest as New Salem. Fitting is it that the slab sides of the Lincoln-Berry store should rise again upon their original foundations, that the log walls of the Rutledge tavern should stand in their mute eloquence, and that one by one the humble habitations of Old New Salem should rise in counterfeit presentment of their former selves, for on this spot as nowhere else on earth the fragrant memory of Abraham Lincoln lingers amid the prairie flowers a hundred feet above the placid flow of the Sangamon. Here reminiscence and romance blend with living memory to paint with vivid colors of lasting reality the name and fame of Abraham Lincoln.

Abraham Lincoln first saw this lovely spot when the year was at the Spring. He beheld it also in the Spring six years later on the day of his final departure. We are here in the same season, with the wood violets under our feet and the forests displaying to us their wondrous variety of verdure and efflorescence. It was so when he beheld it at the beginning and at the end of his residence, when the town was still in its infancy and again before the season of its departed glory. Look well about you, for all that you behold of earth and sky, of prairie and forest and river, he saw from where you now behold it. And look yet again on these half-dozen houses, rebuilded where and as they stood in Lincoln's day. Nowhere else in all the world shall you find another spot that is just like this. Old New Salem that has called to you across the plains and brought you hither, and some of you from afar, to share in this celebration, salutes you with a hundred cherished and honorable traditions.

Abraham Lincoln was twenty-eight years old when he rode away from this lovely spot. He did not know it, but he had lived just half his life. He did not know it, and no one who knew him

suspected it, but in him were the qualities, some of them still nascent, that were to constitute the ingredients of his leadership. Memory is a tidal stream. Human experience ebbs in the narrow channel of daily event, but recollection flows inward from the ocean of accumulated knowledge, and floods the channel to the level of its banks. We can see, as we stand here, with a vision which though long subsequent to the event, is not lacking in the prophetic element. We can see Abraham Lincoln riding away from New Salem, lonely and in debt and facing a future dark to him but luminous to us. And we rejoice that because of what we thus have come to understand, little old New Salem has been recalled from the tomb, to share his immortality.

PART III.
Contributions to State History.

THE POLITICAL CAREER OF WILLIAM R. MORRISON.

(Not including his work on the Interstate Commerce Commission.)

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

I

Background and Preparation.

William R. Morrison, although condemned by the force of circumstance to occupy a position of "conspicuous obscurity," deserves a far higher place in American history than has been accorded him. He was a politician of honor and integrity not once impugned in all his years of public service; a tariff reformer at a time when tariff reform was unpopular—a free-trader in principle; and the dominant member of the Interstate Commerce Commission during the first ten years of that body's existence. Once a national figure, an outstanding leader of his party, but now almost forgotten, he well represents the transitoriness of political fame.

In the beautiful early fall of 1824, September 24th, in a rude little cabin at Prairie du Long, a little southeast of the present town of Waterloo, Illinois, was born William Ralls Morrison. He came of the best of frontier stock, descended from a Scotch-Irish grandfather who had come to the Illinois country from Pennsylvania among the first generation of American immigrants. William's father, John, had been born at Kaskaskia in 1800, and had grown up with the country. Soon leaving the Federalism of the family, John Morrison had gained positions in the frontier society as a Democrat, being justice of the peace, school commissioner, sheriff, member of the state legislature, and judge of the county court.[1] The mother of the child born at Prairie du Long had been, before her marriage, Anna Ralls, a native of Illinois, of Virginian-English ancestry.[2]

The boy spent his first years quietly on the Mississippi valley farm. It was not long, however, before his mother died, and his father married a Miss Ditch of Waterloo, through whom he acquired the Waterloo tavern—a typical old Southern inn. Here the five children were brought and a rich and unique experience began for William. It was at this inn where all the loafers of the country-side gathered, where visiting lawyers stayed, where Lafayette stopped on his visit to the United States,[3] where

[1] Palmer, *Bench and Bar in Illinois*, 964f; McFarland, in *Boston Herald*, August 4, 1891; McKendree College Records; St. Louis *Chronicle*.
[2] Palmer, 964f.
[3] Local tradition: Mr. Charles Morrison, and Dr. Adelsberger. Mr. Charles Morrison is one of five children which Judge Morrison had by his second wife, and is the only one now living.

William R. Morrison

Colonel Bissell made his headquarters when recruiting for the Mexican war;[4] in short, the tavern was the political and social Mecca of the entire region. It is small wonder that in such an atmosphere the boy William early became intensely interested in politics. He always went to the polls on election day, and claimed that when seven or eight years of age he knew what it was all about. He was such a rabid Democrat that he took it as a matter of firm belief that the bottom would fall out of everything and the country go to hell in three days if a Whig were elected. He once said that upon rising the morning after the news of the election of "Tippecanoe" Harrison he was dumfounded to find the sun still coming up in the east.[5]

Most of William's education was absorbed from the school of practical politics in his father's tavern, and from the free and omnipresent school of nature. He learned to ride and shoot a gun, he ate the coarse foods of the early frontiersman, and thus he developed the rugged constitution which enabled him to withstand the strain of a long and strenuous political life. His slight country school education was supplemented after the Mexican war by but two years in the academy at McKendree College.[6]

When the Mexican war broke out, William enlisted in the "Second Illinois" under Colonel Bissell, and served as a private throughout the struggle. Nothing is known of his experience except that he was in the famous battle of Buena Vista.[7] Immediately after the war his restless spirit was caught by the vision of the California gold strikes, and he joined the rush of the Forty-niners. He was in such feverish haste that as soon as he reached St. Louis he sold out his share in a slow ox team and bought a fourth interest in a mule outfit owned by three Louisianians. They and a large number of Missourians struck off across the plains for Sacramento. But even gold mining seemed to bring but a moderate return to Morrison, and after nineteen or twenty months of scratching about in the mountains he had cleared not more than ten thousand dollars, if that, in a time when some were amassing vast fortunes,—and some losing all. At any rate, he tired of the game and went back home in 1850, taking boat to Panama, crossing the isthmus on foot, taking boat again to Cuba, and from there to New Orleans and up the river on a St. Louis boat.[8]

It was on his return from California that William, desiring to settle down, realized that he needed more education. He therefore went to McKendree College at Lebanon, Illinois, and spent the years 1850-51, and 1851-52, registered in the preparatory department. Nothing can be learned now of this school life.[9]

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[4] *Waterloo Republic*, Oct. 6, 1909. This same article mentions the fact that Wm. J. Bryan's father frequently stopped at this tavern while county judge.

[5] *Boston Herald*, July 28, 1895.

[6] Belleville (Ill.) *News-Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1909; McKendree College Records; Mr. C. B. Morrison (a son of Mr. Charles Morrison).

[7] Palmer, 964f.

[8] Mr. Morrison told this story in an interview with G. G. Bain, and it was published at great length in the *Boston Herald*, July 28, 1895.

[9] McKendree Records.

Preparation for a political career had been laid before the war when the young Morrison had been deputy sheriff for his father,[10] and in 1852 his life work began in earnest when he was elected circuit clerk for Monroe County.[11]

But for the great Kansas-Nebraska struggle Morrison might have remained a local politician all the rest of his days. He became interested in this fight, departed from the politics of his family, who were either Whigs or anti-Douglas Democrats, and entered the lists for representative in the state legislature as a Douglas Democrat.[12] He won in 1854 and was returned in 1856. In 1858, when the whole election hinged upon the Lincoln-Douglas Senatorial contest, Douglas asked him to run again.[13] He ran and defeated his father-in-law! Being one of the very few who survived those three successive elections he was chosen Speaker by the Democratic majority of the House. Not again till 1869 was he a candidate for the legislature, and then only because the new constitution was to go into effect and an appeal was made for the veterans to return.[14] It was during this session that he made a speech so characteristic in its brevity that it deserves to be quoted: it was after the terrible fire in Chicago, when thousands had been made homeless and destitute and an appeal came to the legislature for aid; the vote for aid was running a strong "Nay" until Morrison's name was called. He arose and said, "If Chicago came in her strength I should vote NO. But when she comes in her ashes I vote AYE."[15] It is said that the rest of the vote was almost unanimously Aye, and that men who had voted No fairly scrambled over each other to change.[16] In the legislature, and as speaker especially, it was said of Mr. Morrison that he was fair, quick to decide, and had a capacity for dispatching a great amount of business.[17]

When Morrison had first settled down in Waterloo he had married Mary Jane Drury, and after her death a few years later, he married her half sister, Eleanora Horine. The influence of this second wife on Morrison's career was undoubtedly very great: she took a direct share in his political work, studied political questions, attended to correspondence, and among other things kept a very interesting set of scrapbooks and collection of clippings. Most of the clippings are such as would have interested Mr. Morrison in his political activities, but there are also a great number on art, religion, society and other topics which were probably of more importance to the wife herself than to the husband.[18]

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[10] *Waterloo Republic*, Oct. 6, 1909.
[11] *Boston Herald*, August 4, 1891.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Unlabeled clipping in scrap book; Mr. Charles Morrison.
[14] Mr. Charles Morrison.
[15] Taken from inscription on cane given to Mr. Morrison by the appreciative Chicagoans. Not given in the legislative *Journal*, which is hopelessly incomplete for this period.
[16] Mr. Charles Morrison.
[17] St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, February 28, 1892.
[18] The great majority of newspaper references used herein are from scrap book collections kept by Mrs. Morrison.

Elnora Horine Morrison

Mr. Morrison was not a lawyer in the modern sense of the term, although his two years at McKendree and his wide experience made him better fitted for the work perhaps than the ordinary lawyer of his time. When he first went to the state legislature he did not pretend to know any law, but was appointed on the judiciary committee. He protested. The Speaker answered that if he was not a lawyer he ought to be. His friends told him that because of his experience as circuit clerk he knew more law than most lawyers. They took him over to the Circuit Court, then in session. A board of Examination was appointed, the examination made, and in forty minutes time William R. Morrison came forth as a regular member of the Illinois bar! Having taken the plunge he decided to go on swimming, and studied law so assiduously throughout the remainder of his term that when he went home he could really practice.[19]

Up to the beginning of the Civil War Morrison practiced law between terms of the legislature, and was rapidly becoming a prominent figure in local politics. He was a member of the Democratic convention which nominated Buchanan in 1856, and four years later went to Charleston to help the cause of Douglas,[20] though not this time as a delegate. When war broke out between the two sections he remained true to Douglas and to the Union, and when Governor Yates asked him to raise a regiment he gladly accepted the responsibility.[21] The moral force lent the North by such men as Morrison, Oglesby, Logan and Kellogg was an important factor in the border districts.

Naturally Morrison was elected Colonel of the regiment he organized—the 49th Illinois infantry. He was severely wounded in the attack on Fort Donelson when, as brigade commander, he was leading his own and another regiment in a dangerous assault on the earthworks. Although at first reported killed, he was taken home by his wife and nursed back to health. Hardly able to move about when the news came of the disaster at Pittsburg Landing, he immediately started for the front, and was there to participate in the march toward Corinth.[22]

The Colonel's Democratic friends at home did not forget him while he was away. In the party Congressional convention of 1862, although two-thirds of the members were "peace Democrats," the sentiment was so strong for Colonel Morrison that he was nominated for representative in Congress from the 17th district. The peace majority nevertheless passed resolutions "squinting" on the question of the continuance of the war. Morrison, on receiving notification of his nomination, together with a copy of the resolution, read them over, scratched his head, and sat down in his tent to pen the following reply:

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[19] St. Louis *Chronicle*, Scrap Book; Mr. Charles Morrison.
[20] Springfield, Mass., *Republican*, Oct. 1, 1909.
[21] Moses, *Illinois*, II, 650.
[22] *Waterloo Republican*, Oct. 6, 1909.

> "Seeing nothing in your resolutions to prevent the vigorous prosecution of the war to a successful issue, I accept your nomination."[23]

He certainly must have chuckled inwardly at the consternation such an answer would cause. His real friends then urged him to come home and make the canvass. The Colonel very sensibly replied that they had seen fit to nominate him, if the people of the district thought he would do his country better service at Washington than at the front he would go, otherwise he would stay where he was. He would make no campaign for a seat in the House of Representatives.[24] It would be interesting to know, although we never can know, how much this astute politician had done while at home recuperating, and how much he felt that he would be elected whether he campaigned or not.

Morrison was elected, and was among a very small number of Democrats in the 38th Congress. Grant did not want to give him up, and returned his resignation with the notation,

> "Resignation not accepted. Col. Morrison is too good a soldier to spare."[25]

But when the matter was carried to Lincoln, an old friend, and it was known that the Colonel was not physically able to sit in the saddle, the rejection was overruled.[26] Lincoln wanted war Democrats of Morrison's stripe in Congress.

In this his first session of Congress Morrison attained no distinction. It is only later that he is referred to by Blaine as having been one of the "notable additions" of the year.[27] Being made a member of the committee on the Militia most of the motions he introduced related to the military establishment.[28] He opposed some of the unnecessary civil measures of the administration, but was one of the Democrats who voted for creating the office of Lieutenant-General for Grant, and throughout he voted in favor of military supply bills.[29] An incident which showed his spirit and independence was the introduction of a resolution, February 29th, 1864, declaring that

> "slavery legally exists in some of the States of the Union by virtue of the Constitution and the laws of such States, and that neither the government of the United States, nor the people thereof, as such, are responsible therefor, nor have they any legal duty to perform in relation thereto except such as is enjoined by section two, article four, of the Federal Constitution," (this is the clause providing for the return of fugitive slaves).[30]

Of course the resolution was defeated.

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[23] *Boston Herald*, August 4, 1891.

[24] Mr. Charles Morrison. Carr, in *The Illini*, 369n, tells the story that when wounded at Donelson, Morrison was being carried back in the ambulance with John A. Logan, also injured. Logan said to Morrison, "Bill, did you get a bad lick?" "Yes," replied Morrison with a grimace and a growl, "Yes, John, I think I got enough to go home and beat Phil Fouke for Congress."

He did go home, but he was back in the field before even nominated for Congress.

[25] Chicago *Times*, Dec. 21, 1875.

[26] The resignation took effect Dec. 13, 1862. *Report of Adj. Gen. of Illinois*, II, 26, chapter on history of 49th regiment.

[27] Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress*, I, 502.

[28] *Congressional Globe*. 38th Congress, I, 18.

[29] *Ibid.*; Blaine, I, 510; *Boston Herald*, Aug. 4, 1891.

[30] *Congressional Globe*, 38th, I, 875.

However fair and right Morrison may have been in Congress, it was not the time for a Democrat. Perhaps he was put in false position, too, by his attitude toward the rancorous and unreasoning legislation of that passionate Congress. The following election he lost by seventy-five votes. According to "Junot" in the Chicago *Times*, this was due to his having voted with fifteen others against the expulsion of Congressman Harris of Maryland after the latter's denunciation of the war.[31] Morrison's successful opponent in 1864 and again in 1866 was the "great Jehu Baker," and for a time the Colonel applied himself to law, almost exclusively.

II

Campaigning for Congress.

Although defeated for Congress in both 1864 and 1866, Morrison did not quit the political game. He practiced law, and though he was not a great lawyer, he was a very good one. Politics was his real field, and yet he was not the typical "politician." He was a Jeffersonian Democrat of the old school who despised privilege and thought "that government best which governed least."[32] He is quoted as saying at one time:

> "I am for the man at the bottom, the man on top doesn't need me. He can take care of himself. Legislation ought not to give him unnatural advantages."[33]

and:

> "Burdens of government should be borne in proportion to ability to bear them. Property should pay the taxes. He who has much should pay much; he who has but little should pay little, and he who has none should pay none."[34]

He always thought first of the people when considering issues, and "he favored reduction of their burdens, whether for lower duties, for moderate appropriations, or for reasonable transportation rates."[35]

On such issues as the resumption of specie payments, "free silver," and even the tariff, his views did not coincide with those of his constituents, yet he conscientiously believed that his opinions represented what was best for the people. Although a thorough Democrat, he held Burke's idea of representation, and acted on his own judgment rather than on the whims and fancies of his clientele.

Colonel Morrison's mind was always made up. Either a thing was right or it was wrong. While other men hesitated, he decided and acted. Quick and accurate, but also firm and well-balanced, devoid of all pretense and false show, quiet and resolute, rigorously and ruggedly honest in all his transactions, he was at the same time, naturally, intolerant of weaknesses in others. Not once in his half century of public life was any

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[31] Chicago *Times*, Dec. 21, 1875.
[32] Belleville *News-Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1909; several quotations in Morrison's handwriting in an old book of his, which show the character of his mind.
[33] *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882.
[34] Here taken from a quotation in Edwardsville, Ill., *Intelligencer*, May 20, 1896.
[35] Stealey, *Twenty Years in the Press Gallery*, article by Talbott, 379.

charge of dishonest dealing brought against William R. Morrison. He lacked the suavity of Blaine or the personal magnetism of Douglas. He drew a few men to him, but could not be called popular. Among friends he was youthful, unconstrained and confiding, but among strangers he was reserved almost to the point of reticence. He was not widely read, and felt his limitations when the conversation was on other matters than the tariff. He had an inexhaustible fund of stories, nevertheless, and when in the proper mood and company he used them with telling effect. He told many Lincoln stories, and his own were mostly of the Lincoln type. His character likewise was similar to Lincoln's, and many a reporter ended his sketch by saying that he was as much like Lincoln as any man in public life at the time.[36] He was a typical western American of the best sort.

In appearance Col. Morrison resembled Grant, although taller and more slender. He was of medium stature, with unobtrusive features which yet had about them a certain look of quiet firmness, and in the strong lines a mixture of determination and repose characteristic of the southern rather than the northern type, and eyes that were soft and brown and sleepy. His hair and beard were black, becoming in later life an iron gray. Not a striking looking man, but one whose face and bearing bore the unmistakable marks of sincerity and trustworthiness.[37]

With this type of personality Morrison did not make a whirlwind campaigner. He could write a good speech, but could not deliver it effectively. He used facts and figures profusely and tellingly, and he had the authorities at his finger tips. He kept closely to the argumentative matter, and talked mainly on the tariff.[38] When a stirring appeal was needed his cousin, Col. J. L. D. (Don) Morrison, had to come to the rescue. Once at Belleville he signalled Col. Bill to end his speech, which he did, and then "Don" got up and said, "Bill can't tell you all he knows. I can tell you all I know and a d——n sight more,"—and proceeded to do so.[39] A great deal of Morrison's campaigning was done driving around the district in a buggy with Joseph Rickert, Judge Erd, or Charles Frick, his political lieutenants.[40] All his help was volunteer. In answer to a suggestion made at one time by Mr. Snively of the State Central Committee, Morrison replied: "I would not feel at liberty to ask any of the gentlemen referred to in your letter to contribute financial aid because I had assisted them in securing places."[41]

The district which Morrison represented comprised at first the counties of Monroe, St. Clair, Madison and Macoupin. The majority of the voters were farmers, mainly Germans, but in the cities of East St. Louis, Alton, and Belleville there were im-

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[36] Mr. Charles Morrison, and dozens of clippings in Scrap Book.
[37] Chicago *Times*, Dec. 21, 1875; pictures.
[38] See his various speeches.
[39] Mr. Charles Morrison.
[40] Mr. Joseph W. Rickert; clippings.
[41] E. A. Snively, Oct. 7, 1886; Morrison to Snively, Oct. 9, 1886.

portant manufacturing interests. There were also many coal miners.[42] It can be seen that Morrison's free trade policies would not appeal very strongly to these groups. But he was personally so popular, and there was such faith in his integrity and good judgment on most issues, that time after time he was returned to Congress from this supposedly Republican district. The German farmers came in saying, "Bill Morrison's honest—for Bill Morrison we'll vote."[43] Even the protectionist coal miners voted for him. At one time a delegation, representing about 2000 factory workers, came to ask Morrison to favor a moderate protection of nails, and abandon his reform ideas. Morrison simply told them that he thought the tariff hurt them, and that in no case could he change his stand. The delegation went back, in no way converted by Morrison, and voted for him anyway, because they knew where he stood, at least.[44]

In 1872 Morrison plunged into the Liberal Republican movement, hoping to unite the Democrats and the Trumbull Republicans by making a stand on free trade.[45] That scheme failed when the Cincinnati convention so foolishly nominated Greeley. Nevertheless the Colonel made the campaign in his district on the tariff issue, to that extent repudiating the Greeley platform. He was elected, while the district went overwhelmingly for Grant on the Presidential ticket. His own opponent was John B. Hay of Belleville, one of the strongest Republicans of the region.[46]

In 1874 he was again victorious, defeating Gen. Rinaker of Carlinville. In this campaign Morrison came out squarely on the tariff. Everywhere he went he quoted Logan's speeches which claimed that the great prosperity after the war was due to the Republicans and their high tariff. The reformer reasoned that if the prosperity immediately after the war was due to the Republicans and their war tariff, then to the same group and the same causes ought to be credited the later terrible depression. If business conditions were the result of law, and the law had not been changed, then the panic of 1873 and the succeeding hard times must surely have been the result of Republican legislation, the most conspicuous item of which was the high tariff. It was a typical and logical hard time, opposition party argument all the way through.

Victory in this contest enabled Morrison to put his opponent on the defensive in 1876. His antagonist was Henry S. Baker, a personal friend, but that did not prevent a vigorous fight along the same lines as that of 1874. He could come out even more boldly on the tariff, for in the St. Louis convention of 1876 he had obtained a declaration on the tariff from the party as a whole.

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[42] Unlabeled clipping. Fitzmaurice in *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897. Fitzmaurice was a member of the Democratic convention at Peoria in 1884, and was apparently intimately acquairted with Illinois politics and with Wm. R. Morrison.
[43] Mr. Charles Morrison.
[44] *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882; Mr. Charles Morrison.
[45] Cincinnati *Enquirer*, Dec. 31, 1883.
[46] Fitzmaurice, in *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897.

He overrated the importance of this "on paper" achievement, however, when he claimed that it had made the Democratic party "once more a national organization."[47] His speeches were the result of close analysis, with mass and detail figures showing how the tariff affected industry. He urged reduction of public expenditures, and of taxation, for then the surplus would be avoided, the temptation to spend lessened, and the people allowed to keep their money. Again his tactics won.

As a result of the success of 1876, and his work in the House, Morrison became the leader of the majority party in the lower house. Therefore, in 1878, the "wise men came out of the East," whispered that Morrison had voted for the Sherman Resumption Act, and put up as a Democratic opponent C. A. Walker of Carlinville. He was a good man, but Morrison was returned to Congress.[48]

Again in 1880, the Republican national ticket swept the district while Morrison's personal strength was so great that he once more received a substantial majority over John B. Hay. Surely something was wrong when the leader of the Democratic anti-tariff forces could be elected from a Republican territory. Therefore, before the election of 1882 the district was gerrymandered to make it so hopelessly Republican that not even Morrison could be chosen.[49] But it was of no use: the Democratic Colonel was given a greater majority over Gen. Kueffner than he had received in 1880.[50] This victory undoubtedly made Morrison the Democratic leader in Illinois—if he would lead.[51]

There seems to have been little interest in the election of 1884, by which the veteran was again elected. In 1886, he thought there would be no fight, and made only a half-hearted canvass. But it was a campaign in which the surface flowed along smoothly while powerful forces were at work stirring up a back current, and his rival was the strong Jehu Baker. Morrison was unaware of the opposition, and there were old charges of fraud against some of the East St. Louis Democrats, hurtful, although not at all attributed to him.[52] It was later learned that Col. Powell, the largest iron manufacturer of the district, had gone to Pittsburgh and obtained $1550 for use in the "legitimate" expenses of the campaign,[53] and that a Mr. John Jarrett of Pittsburgh had been around working against the tariff reformer. The Knights of Labor had done their bit, too. And when the returns came in Baker had won! The statement that Morrison was defeated because the voters hated him anyway is fully answered by the reply of the *St. Louis Republican:* "This is too absurd."[54]

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[47] Fitzmaurice in St. Louis Republic, Sept. 26, 1897.
[48] *Ibid.*
[49] *Ibid.; Missouri Republican*, Nov. 9, 1882; Alton *Democrat*, in Scrap Book; *Waterloo Republic*, Sept. 7, 1882.
[50] Fitzmaurice, *op. cit.; Missouri Republican*, Nov. 9, 1882.
[51] Fitzmaurice, *op. cit.*
[52] Handbill containing charges made by Baker are among Morrison's papers.
[53] Morrison to Detective Agency, Feb. 27, 1887.
[54] *St. Louis Republican*, Nov. 15, 1886.

On January 8, 1887, the Perkins Union Detective Agency of Pittsburgh wrote Morrison asking if he would like to get information on the work of Jarrett and others, as there had been newspaper reports of crooked work. A month later Morrison replied that he would be glad to get the information, but that he did not intend to contest the election.[55]

Jarrett had been an iron worker, and about 1883 became President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. In 1887, he was Secretary of the American Tinned Plate Association, a Pittsburgh organization formed to fight the free-traders, and increase the tariff on iron rods, tin plate, etc. Jarrett wrote articles on the tariff for the papers and had a salary and expense account contributed to by many, if not all, of the Pittsburgh factories. The Hon. W. W. Phelps of New Jersey was a member of the Association, and probably the Hon. B. F. Jones, iron king and ex-chairman of the Republican National Committee, a personal friend of Jarrett and a frequent caller at his office.

The Agency found Jarrett a talkative soul, who boasted of having brought about Morrison's defeat. He said the cause went back several years, when a delegation of laborers appeared before the Ways and Means Committee. The workers became angered and told Morrison that the fight would be carried into his district. Prior to 1886 the candidates opposed to Morrison had not been strong enough to make Jarrett's scheme feasible. But he kept his eyes open and made visits to Illinois. At last he got the semi-approval of Joseph D. Weeks, Treasurer of the Republican National Committee, editor of the *American Manufacturer*, and Secretary of the Western Iron Association. W. D. Wood, an iron manufacturer of Pittsburgh, called on Jarrett and urged him to make the attempt. The officers of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had asked the manufacturers for $5,000, but when it was refused were afraid to tackle the job alone.

Jarrett went into the district with only $750, and claimed that he used no more, except to send his nineteen assistants a total of $100 as bonus. The money which he had supposedly came from the Pittsburgh manufacturers, and from Messrs. Williams and Evans, members of the above mentioned delegation of laborers. Jarrett worked only in the industrial districts, talking to individuals and having his helpers do the same. "In East St. Louis and Belleville we made things count," he told the detective. Presumably the chief or only argument used was that Morrison's fight against the tariff hurt the laborer.

Although Jarrett takes to himself the credit for defeating the great "tariff despiser" there were others who claimed the honor, too, and whose statements, if true, make it evident that

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[55] The following account is taken entirely from correspondence of Morrison and the Agency January 8 to February 27, 1887. On the latter date the correspondence abruptly stops with a letter from Morrison to the Agency giving further clues. Whether the later letters are lost or the detectives bought off the writer has been unable to discover as yet.

the Morrison affair was only part of a widespread fight on what were considered the chief opponents of the interests of labor. In the fall of 1887, at the Knights of Labor convention in Minneapolis, it was charged that a Mr. Hayes of New Jersey, member of the executive board of the Knights, had gone to Maine in 1886 with a slush fund of $10,000 to defeat Reed. Hayes admitted it, and said further that Morrison's defeat in Illinois was due to T. B. McGuire. Another member of the executive board told the rest of the story:

> "McGuire went west from Philadelphia a month before the primaries in Morrison's district, nominally to settle a dispute in the brewing trade in St. Louis, but in reality to set up the pins against the free-trader. He visited every local assembly [of the Knights] in Morrison's district, and explained to the members why it was the will of the executive board that Morrison should be defeated, and that a fight was also to be made against Randall, Carlisle and Reed. The intention was to defeat Morrison at the primaries, but when that plan failed he was beaten at the polls.
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> "The same plans were pursued in Maine and Kentucky. In Pennsylvania the fight was called off [against Randall]. It was impressed upon the Knights that this was not a political matter, but that the interests of labor demanded the defeat of the men mentioned."[56]

Evidently there were other matters than the tariff, for a fight against Randall never would have been proposed on that score, although the dropping of the fight against him may be significant. The conduct of affairs was so secret that it was said that Carlisle went to bed the night before the election not knowing he had an opponent in the field. He barely escaped, Morrison was defeated, and so was Hurd of Toledo.[57] The first result of the election was to lower the Democratic majority in the House from 45 to 17, and the defeat of Morrison caused the Republican papers to claim a distinct electoral mandate against tariff tinkering.[58] The real causes of "Horizontal Bill's" fall seem to have been an unfortunate combination of local Democratic discredit, a strong opponent, and the clever, secret work of tariff and labor agents.

III

Congressman and Tariff Reformer.

One day an honest old German representative from Pennsylvania, a Republican, was unknowingly blundering through the tellers in the House when he was asked how he voted. "Vell, vell," he said, "I knows nodink aboud de question. How did Bill Morrison vote?" On being informed that Bill Morrison voted "aye" he nodded his head in satisfaction and called out, "Aye."[59] There was probably no man in Congress in Morrison's day, and in the years following when he was Commerce Commissioner, who was as much sought after for advice by members of Con-

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[56] *Washington Post*, Oct. 17, 1887.
[57] *St. Louis Chronicle*, - - - - 1892, Scrap Book.
[58] Thomas, *Return of the Democratic Party to Power in 1884*, 247.
[59] *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882; Mr. Charles Morrison; clippings.

gress as was Col. Morrison, and he is said to have done more to restrain the unbalanced hotheads of his party than all the more conspicuous leaders of the House.[60] His position as chairman of the Ways and Means made him the leader of his party on the floor, but whether holding office or not he was the leader of the good government forces in Washington.[61] The worth of his opinion as well as the integrity of his character, was recognized by Roscoe Conkling after his own retirement from political life, when in writing to a client about a certain tariff he closed by saying:

> "However, see Morrison. He knows all about it, is absolutely honest, and has good sense, if he is a Democrat. I would rely implicitly on anything he said."[62]

Quietly and unostentatiously Morrison collected his information and shaped men's thinking in the committee rooms and outside the halls of Congress, by choice allowing others to do the talking and get the public recognition.[63] He was criticized for his lack of self-assertiveness, one Republican paper using as an argument to show the weakness of the Democratic party the fact that in Congress "Randall and Cox divide the honors, and the modest but far better Morrison is condemned to a sort of conspicuous obscurity."[64]

Throughout his eight terms in the House "Horizontal Bill" was a worker for reform and economy. He was the author of several bills in the 44th Congress relating to the investigations of the executive departments, which led to the exposure of Secretary of War Belknap and others, and showed the utter rottenness of some of the governmental departments under Grant.[65] He was a member of the conference committee which in the summer of 1876 worked and argued for over a month on the question of the reduction of the number and salaries of government employees, trying to get the group to agree on some reasonable compromise.[66] He opposed further grants to the railroads.[67] He favored the six year Presidential term, without immediate re-election.[68] He opposed an appropriation for the army in Louisiana and South Carolina unless the President's power to use it was restricted.[69]

After the Hayes-Tilden election Morrison was one of the "visiting statesmen" who went to New Orleans, and when the Congressional investigation began he was made chairman of the

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[60] Clippings, Chicago *Times*, in Scrap Book; others.
[61] Belleville *News-Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1909; from other clippings, the attitude of the press in general.
[62] A. H. Lewis, *New York Journal*, Apr. 2, 1896.
[63] *Ibid.* says that in Cleveland's second term Carlisle, Olney, Smith and even Gresham sought Morrison's counsel time and again; utterances of other men and the respectful attitude of the press show that he did indeed have a high degree of influence. In the second session of the 38th Congress Morrison spoke but once. (*Record*). See also Washington Dispatch to *Graphic*, May 17, 1886; *Boston* Post, Sept. 13, 1882; *New York World*-1875?; etc.
[64] Many clippings, including one from a Republican paper, Scrap Book.
[65] *Record*, 44th Congress.
[66] *Record*, 44th, 1st, 4430, 5385-7.
[67] *Record*, 44th, 2nd, 2134.
[68] *Record*, 43rd, 1st, 3769.
[69] *Record*, 44th, 2nd, 2251.

committee which went to Louisiana.[70] Some of the difficulties with which the committee had to contend are told in a memorandum in Morrison's hand, complaining that they could learn only what witnesses were willing to tell: there was nothing to offer save the opportunity to tell the truth for conscience sake or to gratify spleen. There are also among his correspondence, copies of some of the compromising telegrams, to and from Zachary Chandler and Gov. Packard, which doubtless helped to form the basis for the report of the committee (The Morrison Report).[71]

Just as the committee completed its work Morrison heard of the Electoral Commission which had been appointed to decide the contested votes. He announced immediately, "It's all up," for he knew the men on the Commission, knew that eight were Republicans and seven Democrats, and that therefore the decision would be eight to seven for Hayes. He wrote his cousin that the Democrats would have a chance only if someone would devise a scheme whereby the seven spot could take the eight.[72] So, although the investigation helped to end the carpetbag governments it did no good for the Presidential election.

Morrison was always "sound" on the currency question, although that was not considered a virtue in his section. In 1875 he had voted with the majority of Democrats against the Specie Resumption Act, because he agreed with financial critics that it was a fake and could not accomplish what was claimed for it. Later, however, he was alone among the western Democrats in voting against its repeal. When the repeal had passed he told the members of the House how, with all their talk about the wishes of the people, and their howling about monopoly, they were by their opposition increasing five fold the power of the monopolistic banking interests.[73]

In 1876 he had drawn up a bill of his own, providing a financial policy which might have brought resumption without contraction of the currency. It provided for:

1. The accumulation of gold in the Treasury up to 30% of the value of U. S. notes, for their ultimate redemption—about $120,000,000.
2. Maintenance of gold reserves by the national banks, and an additional reserve equal to 30% of the circulation of U. S. bonds, as security for the redemption of the bonds.
3. Repeal of the legal tender quality of everything but coin as soon as the above was accomplished, and repeal of the unnecessary resumption date—Jan. 1, 1879.[74]

His attitude is well summed up by his declaration that "we

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[70] *House Journal*, 44th, 2nd, 1876-7; Rhodes, *U. S. from the Compromise of 1850*, VII, 230f; *House Reports*, 44th, 2nd, No. 156, Part I, p. 7, characterizes each member of the Returning Board.
[71] Correspondence; *House Committee Reports*, 44th, 2nd, No. 156, Part I.
[72] Mr. Charles Morrison; Stealey (Talbott), 377f; Washington dispatch to *St. Louis Times*, Feb. 24, 1877; and numerous other clippings.
[73] Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, 20ff; Democrat, 133f; *Record*, 45th, 1st, 714ff; clippings.
[74] *N. Y. Telegram*, Feb. 14, 1876

do not need any fixed time for resumption so much as a general understanding that we are to resume."[75]

John Sherman has usually received the credit for one piece of work which seems to belong rightfully to Morrison. In 1870 a law was passed authorizing the issue of $200,000,000 in 5% ten-year bonds, $300,000,000 in 4½% fifteen-year bonds, and not more than $1,000,000,000 in 4% thirty-year bonds. Sherman, Garfield, Bristow, and others thought the second class of bonds impossible because it was too low a rate on such a small amount for such a short time. Sherman got through the Senate a bill increasing the issue to $500,000,000, making the time thirty years instead of fifteen, and leaving the rate 4½%. The additional $200,000,000 was taken from the original thirty-year class at 4%. The bill then went to the House Ways and Means Committee. But although the committee favored it, Morrison thought that the smaller issue for the short time would sell all right, and that then the larger issue at the still lower rate of 4% would be kept intact. As chairman of the committee he took upon himself the responsibility of putting the bill in his pocket and "forgetting" to report it, knowing that if reported favorably it would pass. By killing this bill, Morrison practically forced the adoption of his own, the original scheme, and thus saved the government a vast amount of interest.[76]

Morrison was always a bimetallist, opposed the extremists in both factions, was unwilling to demonetize either gold or silver, and was therefore a truer friend to silver than were those who sought to bring a direct issue between gold monometallism and silver monometallism. He had, back in 1877, voted with the majority of both parties in the House for the Bland bill to restore the legal tender character of silver, but later, under changed conditions, he opposed the restoration of the free coinage policy.[77] He thought "gold alone too narrow and insufficient a money basis." Yet he keenly realized the economic dangers of free coinage at 16 to 1. He agreed in principal with the declaration contained in the law repealing the Sherman Act, requiring international agreement or legislation which would guarantee the parity of gold and silver. But he would listen more to the voice of the people than to that of the financiers, who had the bias of self-interest in spite of their skill.[78]

Morrison was strongly advocated for Speaker of the House in both 1876 and 1883. Each time he was himself doing all in his power to get someone else elected. It had been largely through his efforts that Gen. Kerr of Indiana had been chosen in 1874, and Morrison was rewarded by the chairmanship of the Ways and Means.[79] In 1876 he was working for Bayard, and

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[75] Quoted in unnamed clipping in Scrap Book, and in line with attitude at all times.

[76] Noyes, 30f; *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 30, 1892; *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882; etc. On Sherman's claims see his *Recollections*, 1. 571ff.

[77] *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 4, 1892; *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882; etc., Democrat, 134.

[78] *Washington Post*, April 20, 1896.

[79] Stealey (Talbott), 377f, and many clippings. See *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Belleville Advocate*, *Washington Sentinel*, *New York Herald*, etc., for days preceding meeting of Congress.

when the protectionist Randall won, Morrison was rewarded—by being left off the Ways and Means entirely. Again in 1883 the Democrats gained control of the House, and the fight for the Speakership centered on the tariff issue. It became almost bitter but finally, again through the efforts of Morrison, Carlisle of Kentucky was elected.[80] Once more Morrison was raised to the chairmanship of the most important committee in the House, and held the place until his retirement from Congress. In his last term, the 49th Congress, he was also a member of the Rules Committee.[81]

As chairman of the committee on Ways and Means, Morrison did his greatest work in Congress. In the matter of tariff reform he became the leader of the Democratic movement to reduce the excessive war rates. Immediate results were never attained, but he kept up the fight, and his work did much to consolidate the attitude of the Democratic party on the tariff, and bring it to declare for a "tariff for revenue only." He was fighting the protective tariff when there was little intelligent popular sentiment on the question. He was fighting a high tariff against a solid opposition in the Republican party and a divided support in the Democratic party, for the tariff was a sectional rather than a party issue, then as now, a manufacturing district always being protectionist no matter what its party line-up, and the agricultural regions usually being deluded into protectionism, too.[82]

The extremely protectionist tariff of the latter part of the nineteenth century had been established merely as a war measure and retained after the war because of the pressure of other matters and the powerful opposition always met in withdrawing bounties conferred on great vested interests. In 1867 the duty on wool and woolens was raised even above the war rate, through the efforts of protectionists. From 1865 to 1870 Hugh McCulloch and David A. Wells wanted to reduce the tariff, but because the opposition was too strong they concentrated on the reduction of internal taxes. The question arose in Grant's first Congress, and in 1870 slight relief was gained. It is significant that the only protected article on which rates were lowered was iron ore, and on many others the rate was raised in this attempt at "reform." In 1872 another attempt was made: the "horizontal" method was used, and duties were lowered alike (10%) on woolens, cottons, metals, etc., with considerable cuts also in salt and coal; tea and coffee were placed on the free list. Then in 1873 came the panic and consequent reduction of importations and revenues. In 1875, therefore, the protectionists were able to restore the cuts of 1872.[83]

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[80] Stealey (Talbott), 377f.
[81] *Record*, 49th, 1st, 150.
[82] Fitzmaurice, *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897. Thomas, 106f; Stanwood, *Tariff History*, and *American Tariff Controversies;* Taussig, *Tariff History*.
[83] Taussig, 185ff, 228; Bassett, *Short History of the U.S.*, 661, 663, 713; Wells' correspondence with Morrison. Rates of 1870 and 1872 are summarized in parallel columns in McPherson, *Handbook of Politics* (1872), 192-201.

It was in the next session, with the beginning of the 44th Congress, that William R. Morrison became the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Having taken little part in open debate he was little known, and his appointment came as a great surprise to the country. His elevation was due to two causes: the impossibility of agreement on anyone else, and his electioneering for Kerr for Speaker. Wood and Cox had already fought over the Speakership, and so it was impossible to choose between them for the important chairmanship. Kerr begged Morrison to take the place, but he twice refused. At last he had a conference with Wood, smoothed things over a little, and agreed to take the position, although even then hoping to be relieved.[84]

Morrison's lack of specific knowledge on financial matters was rapidly overcome by diligent study, in which he was ably assisted by his wife.[85] He quickly got a firm grasp of the situation, and during that first session introduced a great number of bills on a variety of subjects.[86] Among other things he expressed himself as strongly opposed to the reciprocity convention with the King of Hawaii: it would do no good, for Hawaiian sugar was only 1% of the total used here, and could never be more than 6%; it was harmful because it encouraged the servile system, the employment of Chinese coolies at extremely low wages.[87]

As customary, Morrison's great efforts were directed toward reform of the tariff. In May, 1876, he introduced into the House his first tariff bill. The outstanding characteristics of the bill were that it provided for specific duties throughout, reimposed duties on tea and coffee, placed coal and a few other articles on the free list, and diminished duties on the protected manufactures.[88] Everyone seemed surprised that the bill even was reported from committee, and recognized its passage as hopeless in spite of the clever manipulations of the author in getting it before the House.[89]

The *Boston Post*, after describing the bill as a "masterly production," and its author as a "capable chairman of the first committee in Congress and fully qualified to be the leader on the floor," goes on to mention Morrison's speech of May 25th on the proposed measure:

> "The speech discloses breadth of view, fulness of information and strong intellectual grasp. The facts are well digested and assimilated with the doctrine they nourish."[90]

This seemed to be the general opinion, for the speech contained the right amount of necessary elementary economic in-

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[84] "Junot" in Chicago *Times*, Dec. 31, 1875; Mr. Charles Morrison. Some newspapers of the next morning, announcing the appointment, used as headline, "WHO THE HELL IS MORRISON."

[85] Mentioned in several clippings. Mrs. Morrison's work is evidenced to a certain extent by the number and character of the clippings she preserved.

[86] Index to *Congressional Record*, 44th, 1st, 375.

[87] *Record*, 44th, 1st, 1491f.

[88] Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 195; *Boston Post*, May 31, 1876.

[89] *Record*, 44th, 1st, 3313-3332, 3515-3523; Washington dispatch to *Graphic*, May 17, 1876, and other clippings.

[90] *Boston Post*, May 31, 1876.

struction, to lay a foundation for future action. The guiding principles of the great tariff reformer are set forth in this initiatory speech:

> "Burdens of government should be borne in proportion to ability to bear them. Property should pay the taxes. He who has much should pay much; he who has little should pay little; and he who has none, none."
>
> "Protection, therefore, other than that incidental to revenue, is spoliation, because it takes the earnings of the labor of one person or class of persons and gives those earnings to other persons or more favored classes; protection which would take equally and bestow equally would be no protection at all; its abolition would be of easy accomplishment, having no selfish reasons for its maintenance."[91]

After stating these general principles as an introduction, Mr. Morrison discusses the history of the tariff in England, showing the evolution from the protective tariff to free trade and prosperity. He shows how, in 1874, England got a revenue from customs on only a few items amounting to $100,000,000. That, he said, is the ideal toward which to aim. This is followed by a resumé of American tariff history, showing that we got more revenue from the low Walker tariff of 1846 than from any other. The main argument then begins with a denunciation of the inconsistencies of the existing tariff, the tremendous rate, and the deceitfulness of the double duty—specific and *ad valorem*—which covered much injustice. Concerning the advisability of these two methods he says that *ad valorem* duties are best, simply because based on value, but that they cannot be administered fairly because officials take advantage of fluctuating and uncertain values to defraud the government.[92] It is interesting to note that David A. Wells, in his correspondence with Morrison, stresses this very point. In one letter Wells cites the instance of sugar: a specific duty of three cents would be a duty of 100% on the three-cent sugar of the backward lands, while it would be a duty of only 50% on the six-cent sugar of Cuba.[93]

Morrison's speech clearly brings out the fact that the masses really pay the tax:

> "All tariff taxes are paid by the multitude, not by the few who own the property. This is the wrong and injustice of the system. And shall the multitudes pay on the tea and coffee twenty millions directly into the Treasury, or a hundred millions on their hats, blankets, shoes, axes, hoes, medicines, quinine, spool-thread, and needles, to pay twenty millions in the Treasury and eighty millions in the pockets of the manufacturers?"[94]

For, as he points out, when the tariff is levied it not only taxes the goods which actually enter the country from abroad, but it tends to raise the prices of goods produced here to the level of the foreign cost, plus transportation and tariff.

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[91] *Record*, 44th, 1st, 3313ff.
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] Wells' letters to Morrison.
[94] Speech of 1876, p. 10 (pamphlet edition).

The delusion that this additional cost is offset by the maintenance of high wages due to protection is, Morrison claims, fallacious and shallow.

> "Official figures show that the labor was only 18½% of the actual cost of manufacturers in 1870, when our tariff averaged 43%, while in 1860, under a tariff of only 19% the labor was 20% of the cost of manufacturers."[95]

The phrase "home market" in connection with tariff discussions is, according to Morrison, a fraud and a snare. As long as the U. S. remains an agricultural country, which will be for years to come, we will produce more than we can use at home, and therefore have no need of protection from the "pauper labor" of Europe. The price is regulated by the overflow into the world markets. Therefore the farmer pays his forty per cent. tribute in vain.

Morrison's plan was to leave duties of 30% on cotton fabrics, 25% on iron and steel and 40% on woolens—rates still high, but attempting to avoid a sudden reduction which would disturb business. The ultimate aim was a tariff for revenue only. He felt that all tariffs should be laid on articles entering directly into consumption, not those used in the processes of industry. But the American people could pay comparatively high rates if properly levied and administered, placing the articles of necessity on the free list, taxing articles of comfort on the basis of the largest revenue from the largest consumption, and taxing articles of luxury up to the highest point which would neither discourage the exchange of exports nor encourage smuggling. The process of attainment must be gradual, and modified to suit circumstances.[96] . . . . The speech is strong, but not strong enough, and its only importance is that it marks the opening of the heavy bombardment of the protective system, and shows the plan of campaign of the commanding officer of the fight.

The period from 1875 to 1883 is practically barren of tariff legislation, the only act of real importance having been that placing salts of quinine on the free list (1879). It is impossible to determine exactly Morrison's influence in this piece of work, but he introduced a bill on the subject,[97] and undoubtedly helped push this particular measure through Congress. He had not been on the Ways and Means in the 45th Congress, but was there again in the 46th. Neither the bill he introduced at the beginning of the 45th Congress, nor that of Wood in 1878 had any probability of success. Wood declared his purpose was to resuscitate American commerce and by that means benefit manufactures. But by his flat rate of 35% on all wool he would have killed immediately the American carpet industry. The bill dispensed with the free list, naming only items to be taxed. After

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[95] Speech of 1876.
[96] *Ibid.*, 19f.
[97] *Record*, 45th, 3rd, 152 (Dec. 12, 1878). Wm. J. Fowler, to Morrison, April 10, 1880, wrote that "Your success in taking the tax off quinine" was one of Morrison's strong points as a Presidential candidate. Fowler was Secretary of the Farmers' Alliance of New York.

a thoroughly fruitless debate the enacting clause was struck out by a vote of 134 to 121, the high tariff Democrats of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, etc., voting with the Republicans.[98] The sentiment for tariff reform was not well enough defined to get action.[99] The Ways and Means Committee itself was divided into factions, and Wood had but a small following.[100]

On February 24th, 1880, Morrison introduced a bill to repeal all discriminating duties on medicinal barks.[101] Whether or not made at the suggestion of David A. Wells, it was in line with the advice of Wells, who had written to Morrison to go at the reform piecemeal, weakening the enemy by such things as the removal of the tax on quinine, and getting them to vote against the thoroughly indefensible things in the tariff, thus putting them in a tight place for the Presidential campaign. He says that if the Democrats can obtain repeal of the taxes on salt, steel rails, copper, etc., the protectionists will begin to fight among themselves—"one fox having got his tail cut off will go for curtailing all the other foxes. . . . . Set the Republicans to voting in favor of retaining all the damned odious things, and Moore and I will give you all the powder and shot you need for the campaign."[102]

J. S. Moore wrote to Morrison about the same time, and said that "surely we ought to get a reduction on steel rails," and went on to say that there would be a great fight on the sugar tariff by the importers and refiners of Louisiana. He was coming to Washington to talk things over.[103] But in spite of the help from outside, the bill died in Congress after some desultory discussion.

The partisan character of the tariff agitation was evident from 1875 on, when neither party was in control of both branches of the legislative and of the executive but once to 1887.[104] The parties were maneuvering for position and therefore the tariff was treated as a matter of strategy and tactics rather than one of principle. Insincerity increased at every step. In 1872 the Republicans had begun by making an evasive and cautious plank in their party platform which meant, although mildly, protection.[105] The Liberal Republican platform, adopted *in toto* by the Democrats, left the decision entirely to the Congressional dis-

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[98] Taussig, 191, and note; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 198.
[99] *The Nation*, XXV, 297, Nov. 15, 1877.
[100] J. S. Moore to Morrison, Dec. 16, 1879. Moore was a statistician and author of articles on the tariff.
[101] *Record*, 46th, 2nd, 1093.
[102] Wells to Morrison, Jan. 14, 1880.
[103] Moore to Morrison, Jan. 12, 1880.
[104] Following table shows political complexion of Congress and Executive, 1875-1887 (Morrison's terms):

Congress.	Date.	House.	Speaker.	Senate.	President.
44th	1875–7	Democrat	Kerr	Republican	Republican
45th	1877–9	Democrat	Randall	Republican	Republican
46th	1879–81	Democrat	Randall	Democrat	Republican
47th	1881–3	Republican	Kelley	Republican	Republican
48th	1883–5	Democart	Carlisle	Republican	Republican
49th	1885–7	Democrat	Carlisle	Republican	Democrat

[105] Platforms may be found in McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, and in Stanwood *History of the Presidency*.

tricts and subsequent action by Congress, it being understood that Greeley would not veto any measure passed by Congress. In 1876 the Republicans made a declaration similar to that of 1872. The Democrats, perhaps largely through the influence of Morrison, came out positively against the existing tariff and demanded a tariff for revenue only.[106] In 1880 the Republicans said simply, "We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876, that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should so discriminate as to favor American labor."[107] At the end of a paragraph on home rule and honest money the Democrats merely added, "and a tariff for revenue only," and when the campaign lacked other issues and this was taken literally the poor Democrats were completely bewildered. They could not possibly have united the party on such a program.[108]

By 1881 there was a widespread demand for reduction in the tariff. There had been a crop failure in both the United States and Europe, resulting in high prices; gold exports were high and there was money shortage; there was overproduction and general business depression, while the workers were striking for higher wages; the Democratic House had kept down expenditures, customs receipts had steadily increased, and an enormous surplus was accumulating in the Treasury.[109] Both parties were answering the popular demand and declaring in state conventions for tariff revision: the Republicans usually favoring retention of protective characteristics, but many of the Democratic utterances calling for a tariff for revenue only. Even Secretary Folger advocated substantial reductions in the tariff scale.[110] Most significant of all is the annual message in which President Arthur declared that there was need for reduction of the onerous tax burden, by lowering of internal taxes and revision of the tariff, rates to be recommended by a commission appointed for the purpose.[111]

The act providing for the Tariff Commission was opposed by the Democrats of the House, who saw in the proposal only a ruse to delay action and bring revision by friends of the tariff. But the act passed and was approved by May 15, 1882. It provided for the appointment of nine commissioners to investigate the industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests of the country with a view to the establishment of a "judicious tariff," fair to all interests. After five men had declined the chairmanship of the commission, John L. Hayes, Secretary of the National Wool Manufacturers Association, finally accepted. Four of the nine members were directly connected with protected industries, and the entire membership was protectionist in sympathy.[112] Colum-

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[106] See below, chapter IV.
[107] McKee, 188.
[108] *Ibid.*, 183; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 199ff.
[109] *Ibid.*, 201f; Taussig, 230ff; Thomas, *Return of the Democratic Party*, 65ff.
[110] Thomas, 67f, 90f.
[111] Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, XI, 4635f.
[112] Thomas, 113ff; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 202ff.

bus Delano, Secretary of the Interior under Grant, admitted that it was a manufacturers' commission, and claimed even that after the report was completed he had made changes in it beneficial to manufacturing interests.[113] Surely the report might be expected to favor the industrial magnates, and yet the very appointment of the Commission was a recognition by the Republicans that they had gone too far.

Morrison made a speech in the House on May 4, 1882, attacking the Tariff Commission idea, foreseeing that the recommendations of the commission were almost sure to be such as would maintain the high tariff. The main argument goes farther, however, and is much the same as in his speech of 1876, and has the same sort of historical resumé as an introduction. On the wages dispute he was still stronger:

> "The final and flimsiest apology protection makes for its exactions is the wages of labor, which it claims to increase by increased taxation. This argument is purely American and is used, not because it is true, but because here laboring men are a political power. Germany and France, like ourselves, are attempting to supply the waste of war by the waste of a protective tariff. What are they protecting themselves against? Is it the cheaper labor of any competing nation, or the better paid labor of England, or the still better paid labor of our own country? This policy credits itself with the fact that wages are higher here than in the densely populated countries of the Old World, where people are in each other's way, but it takes no account of the fact that wages are lowest in Germany and France, where the system is enforced, and highest in England, where it does not exist. It takes no account of the fact that wages here are as much higher than in England or on the continent of Europe in all other employments as in the protected industries, a fact which shows that the difference in this and other countries is not the result of tariff rates, but of other causes."—because the wages here are fixed by the nine-tenths of the laboring population outside the protected industries.
>
> "No system of taxation, though it be called protection, can permanently increase the wages of labor or otherwise affect it, except to burden it."
>
> In Hocking Valley, Ohio, iron is produced for twelve dollars a ton. Wages per ton, including mining the ore, are $8. The cost of carrying iron from the furnace abroad, across the sea to Ohio, is more than $8. This sum, greater than the wages in Ohio, the importer must pay before he pays the tariff if he is to enter into competition. Hence it can be seen that it is not labor the manufacturers are protecting when they ask high duties on iron ore.
>
> The consumer is the important consideration. The tariff raises prices for the consumer. Of this increase $4 goes to the manufacturer while $1 goes to the government.
>
> "An impost or tariff is an income tax of the baser sort, for it taxes the whole income of the laboring poor, while it taxes only so much of the income of others as they expend in the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life."
>
> "Legislation which helps an unjust distribution of property, or an unfair division of the proceeds of labor, is a great public wrong."[114]

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[113] Morrison's speech of April 15, 1884 and also the one of May 6, 1884.
[114] Speech of May 4, 1882; *Record*, 48th, 1st, 3904ff.

The tariff reform mandate of the election of 1882, which changed the Democratic minority of 19 in the House to a majority of 77, was heard by the Republicans and heeded by Arthur in his annual message in which he again urged revision.[115] The Tariff Commission had traveled throughout the country investigating conditions and holding hearings in many cities. It reported on December 4, 1882, and must have surprised most people by advocating an average tariff reduction of twenty per cent.[116] Then House and Senate went to work, and each prepared a bill with less reductions than recommended. After long debate, in spite of the protectionist majority, the House could not bring its bill to a vote. This was why the Senate's tariff amendment to an internal tax bill was made the basis for the new law. According to the rules such an amended measure could not be considered in the House save by a two-thirds vote, which could not be obtained. Therefore the omnipotent Reed evolved a rule to fit the occasion, allowing such a bill to be considered for purpose of non-concurrence, although not for concurrence. The bill was then non-concurred in, and sent to conference as desired all along.[117]

The conference committee was protectionist. The original Senate committee was Messrs. Morrill, Sherman, Aldrich, Bayard, and Beck. The latter two, the Democratic members, resigned because the House Democrats had objected to the consideration of the bill in conference, because of its having originated in the Senate. When one Democrat after another asked to be excused the Senate committee was at last filled up with Republicans, Mahine and McDill being named. The original House committee was Messrs. Kelley, McKinley and Haskell, Republicans, and Randall and Carlisle, Democrats. Randall asked to be relieved and Morrison was appointed. He declined, as did Tucker of Virginia, and Speer of Georgia finally accepted.[118]

What this committee did is well stated in Morrison's speech of 1884:

> "The office and duty of a conference committee is to adjust the difference between two disagreeing houses. This House had decided that bar-iron of the middle class should pay $20 a ton; the Senate that it was to pay $20.16 a ton. The gentlemen of the conference committee reconciled this difference—how? By raising the bar-iron (of this class) above both House and Senate to $22.40. The Tariff Commission reported that the tariff on iron ore should be 50 cents a ton. The Senate said it should be 50 cents a ton. The House said it should be 50 cents a ton. Gentlemen of the conference committee reconciled this agreement of the House, Senate and Tariff Commission into a disagreement and made the duty on iron ore 75 cents a ton. The gentlemen of the conference did a similar service for the great corporation of corporations, the Iron and Steel Association, by

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[115] *Messages and Papers*, XI, 4722ff.
[116] Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 202ff.
[117] Taussig, 231f; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 207ff.
[118] *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1882, p. 784.

> giving it a tax of $17 on steel rails, which the House had fixed at $15 and the Senate at $15.68 per ton."[119]

The bill in its final form lowered some duties but also raised some, notably those on woolen and cotton goods and steel manufactures, all of which were being imported in large quantities. In a speech on March 3, 1883, Morrison characterized it:

> "As a bill to reduce tariff taxation it is aptly described by a German saying, 'Wash me the fur, but don't wet it!' "[120]

The Democrats delayed as long as possible, forced the complete reading of the bill in the House on the last day of the session, and used other obstructionist tactics. The Republicans, however, seeing that as soon as this Congress was over the Democrats would be in control, were determined to put the bill through. The vote was at last taken, and the bill passed. McKinley voted against it because it was not protective enough; Morrison voted against it because it was too protective.[121]

The tariff controversy in Congress was ended until the first day of the next Congress. The fight began over the election of Speaker. The Democrats were in the majority, but divided among themselves. The candidates were Samuel J. Randall, a protectionist Democrat from Pennsylvania, and John G. Carlisle, "free trader" from Kentucky. Largely through the efforts of Morrison, and on the issue of the tariff, Carlisle was elected. As Kerr had done before, Carlisle showed his gratitude at the same time that he recognized real worth by appointing Morrison chairman of the Ways and Means. But Carlisle was not a rabid tariff reformer, and he intimated that sudden changes affecting business would not be welcomed.[122] President Arthur also recommended that no further reductions be made until the effect of the 1883 act could be ascertained.[123]

The Ways and Means committee was equally divided between high and low tariff advocates, with Abraham S. Hewitt of New York holding the balance of power. He was both a powerful iron manufacturer and a tariff reformer—a rare combination. Morrison was floor leader from his position. The minority was led by William D. "Pig Iron" Kelley of Pennsylvania.[124]

Morrison's most famous tariff bill, which gave him the nationwide name of "Horizontal Bill," was introduced on March 11, 1884. From April 15th until May 6th the bill was debated in the House. It put salt, coal, and lumber on the free list, and the original proposal even free-listed various ores, hay, dyewoods, and other articles. The really important feature was the reduction of most duties at a like rate of 20%—a "horizontal" reduction. Morrison estimated that it would reduce the revenue about $30,000,000, which was less than advocated by the Tariff Com-

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[119] Speech of May, 1884, 10f (pamphlet edition).
[120] *Record*, 47th, 2nd, Appendix, 278; Thomas, 116f; Text of bill in *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1883, p. 194.
[121] *Record*, 47th, 2nd, 3742ff—gives yeas and nays.
[122] *Record*, 48th, 1st, 5 (Speech of acceptance).
[123] *Messages and Papers*, XI, 4766. (Annual Message).
[124] Thomas, 119; Stealey, 49.

mission. At the same time that it decreased revenue it would "lessen the burden of taxation in largely increased proportion." It would remove $8,000,000 taxes on sugar, $8,000,000 on cottons and woolens, and $14,000,000 on other articles of home consumption, and thus lower cost of living. It would help the country generally for under the Walker tariff the decade 1850-60 was the only one in our history when the wealth of the country had been doubled. It would not hurt wages, for "of all the false pretenses with which protection mocks its victims the assumption that labor is helped or protected by taxing its earnings is the flimsiest." It would, lastly, maintain the same relation between customs duties as established by the bill more or less based on the scientific study of the Tariff Commission. The Republican minority issued a report claiming that the bill was poorly and unscientifically drawn, that it was too soon to know the effects of the bill of 1883, that the new bill would disturb business, lower wages, and increase revenues by increasing imports. The Democratic caucus must have partially agreed with them, for its vote to support the bill was only 114 to 57, and did not bind the members.[125]

No tariff reduction measure had much chance of success in 1884.[126] Morrison realized this and therefore tried to push through a simple horizontal reduction. But this horizontalism was the feature most seriously attacked—attacked by the very men who had welcomed it in 1872 and 1875. As Morrison clearly understood and stated, it was not its unscientific nature which

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[125] Perry, in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, II, 69f; Thomas, 119ff. Bill is in McPherson, *Handbook of Politics, 1884*, p. 135–8.

[126] The advice of Wells on this tariff bill is interesting and significant in its bearing on Morrison's thinking. On February 29th, 1884, he wrote Morrison as follows:

"Hewitt told the Free Trade Club people 'that he has never drawn any bill, but that he felt a bill for free raw materials could, and that the Morrison bill could not, go through Congress.' . . . We are gaining ground, but there is some discouragement and some dissatisfaction at the apparently chaotic condition of things, growing out of the hostility of the Republicans generally for tariff reform, and the division of the Democrats on the same subject. . . . For the party to shuffle and dodge on this issue is to make repeal certain. . . . You may be sure that if the party does not do something there will be a convention of independents who will fight against the Randall Barnum influence right through, and make lots of mischief.

"Now as to future. If you can't carry your 20% reduction, I would abandon the effort, and make a simple free list. I would keep review [?] this point which has always seemed to me important, *ie.* to break the protectionist chain of mutual interest. Put lumber on the free list and Conger and Sawyer will go smashing everything. Salt will sicken Hiscock . . . and others. So will coal. Old Blair in the Senate voted for free coal last winter. Quinine gives no money to the cause, or writes any pamphlets favoring protection."

. . . . . .

"I should charge the present distress and stagnation to the limitations of our markets for our manf' products to this country, & that it is a mighty poor exchange to take the small advantage this gives us in place of the great markets of the world.—for it is a fact that neither Kelly or anyone can question that 90 per cent. certainly 80 p. c. of all our manf's would . . . . [?] and flourish under complete free trade and that all this system of protection is kept up for the benefit of the other 10 or 20.

"*Privately* I would exhaust every effort to see that those who will not accept tariff reductions as means of decreasing the surplus revenues, shall not do it any other way.

"Of course, the protectionists will go over the whole ground, and say, if we reduce the tariff, we will reduce wages. But if questioned on that, reply. How are we going under protection to keep up wages, with limited markets, unrestricted supplies of foreign labor. Is there any way in which the laborer can be compensated except by reducing the taxes, and consequently the cost of his consumption."

In this letter Wells speaks also of Morrison's speech, giving advice which was not followed, and at the end comments on Morrison's aspirations for the Presidency. In that connection, evidently referring to Cleveland, he says, "But I fancy it won't need spectacles to teach the party by July that they can't win anyhow, with a tariff doughface."

was objectionable, but the reduction itself.[127] He desperately wanted to make a start with anything possible, and proceed to more scientific measures later. He made an extremely clever and untheoretical speech on May 6th, poking fun at his opponents, and arousing laughter and applause again and again. But as far as practical results were concerned he might as well have saved his breath: Randall led forty-one Democrats to join with the Republicans in striking out the enacting clause of the bill, by the close vote of 156-151.[128] After the failure of this Morrison Bill, Mr. Hewitt introduced another, but the adjournment of Congress, July 7th, prevented action.[129]

The net result of the Democratic failure to pass any tariff legislation was that the party went before the country in the fall elections on the defensive, trying to prove itself not hostile to protection. Randall's opposition had been a great service to the Republican party.[130] The Republicans were now able to come out in their 1884 platform with a definite declaration for protection, for duties which would

> "afford security to our diversified industries, and protection to the rights and wages of labor.
>
> "The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the tax-payer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country."[131]

The Democrats in the same year, in the platform drawn up by the committee of which Morrison was chairman, straddled the issue with as complete a "straddle" as ever was put before the people of the United States in a political platform.[132]

There were a few attempts at tariff reduction made in the next Congress, bills being presented by Randall and Hiscock. Both were defeated and only demonstrated the ways in which the protectionists would revise the tariff: by slight reduction of some duties, removal of duties on non-competitive goods, and reduction or removal of internal taxes of various kinds.[133] "Horizontal Bill" made his final attempt at tariff reduction when he introduced a bill on the 15th of February, 1886. He had lost prestige by his horizontal bill, and the party seemed to fear that a measure which he proposed would hardly conform to the platform of 1884, in which they were certainly correct. The bill which he introduced was different from that of 1884 in prescribing definite amounts of reduction of each article. It placed wool, salt, lumber, hemp, jute, flax, and fish on the free list; it made

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[127] Record, 48th, 1st, 2973ff; Stanwood, *Tariff Controversies*, II, 220ff; Taussig, 129f. And see Record for whole period, April 15 to May 6, 1884. The vote for consideration, April 15, 140–138, showed the bill to be doomed.

[128] Speech of May, 1884; Perry, *op. cit.*, 76f, gives tables showing the votes of 1884 and 1886 by states, parties, and sections. The final vote in the House was 159–155. *Record*, 48th, 1st, 3908.

[129] *Nation*, XXXVIII, 6, Jan. 3, 1884; Thomas, 120ff.

[130] Thomas, 121.

[131] McKee, 211.

[132] *Infra*, chapter IV; McKee, 204f; Stanwood, *Presidency*, I, 434ff.

[133] Taussig, 252f, 252n.

the duty on woolens 35%, specific duties being removed; and it reduced the duties on cotton, sugar, etc. The original bill had proposed large reduction in steel and put coal on the free list. These items stirred up such powerful opposition that in order to get some chance of consideration for the bill the base of attack was changed to wool. Farmers were afraid of the bill because of its leaning toward free trade. This measure never reached the point of discussion, for the protectionist Democrats again united with the Republicans and defeated the motion to proceed to its consideration, 157-140. Indignation against Randall reached fever heat: Morrison made a bitter speech against him, and his substitute bill was singled out from many for an adverse report by the Ways and Means.[134]

A motion was made again early in December, 1886, to proceed to consideration of revenue bills, but was defeated 154-149. This marked the end of William R. Morrison—he had already been defeated for reelection. After Morrison was out of Congress, through strong pressure from the Administration, the Mills Bill was pushed through.[135]

For twelve years in Congress "Horizontal Bill" Morrison had waged a hopeless but unrelenting fight against the whole protective system. He was not a free trader, unless a free trader is one who advocates laying impost duties only to the extent to which the government needs revenue.[136] He was always opposed to the granting of special privileges which benefited the few at the expense of the many. He condemned the Dingley Tariff of 1897 as the most foolish and outrageous fiscal proposition that could be conceived.[137] He thought free trade the only ground on which men ever could unite but that it could never come in his day; in the meantime the tariff would be the great lasting issue, submerged only temporarily by other matters.[138]

IV

The National Democratic Leader.

The newspapers of Morrison's day were continually berating the Democratic party for its blunders in selecting candidates, its lack of principles, and its lack of unity.[139] Some also pointed out that if the party had been willing to follow such men as Morrison there would have been at least good candidates and definite principles. However, while Randall, Carlisle, and Cox occupied

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[134] *Record*, 49th, 1st, 1443, 5829f, 6032ff; Dewey, *National Development*, iv, 61f; Stanwood, Tariff Controversies, II, 225f; Taussig, 252; Stealey, 54; Perry, *op. cit.*, 73; Report on bill of 1886. Altho the worst that was ever said about Morrison was that he was a natural "straddler" this is not borne out by his actions. He reported the half-and-half plank of 1884, but it was only after fifty hours of gruelling effort, and unquestionably his own opinion was that the plank meant reduction. He took the middle, moderate ground on some other questions, but never did he "straddle."

[135] *Record*, 49th, 2nd, 269; *Public Opinion*, II, 201f, Dec. 25, 1886; Dewey, iv; *supra*, chapter II.

[136] Speech of April, 1884; in a general manner, speech at Sterling, Illinois, Oct. 31, 1892, as given in *St. Louis Republic*, Nov. 1, 1892.

[137] Interview with G. G. Bain, *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, June 10, 1894.

[138] *Ibid.*

[139] For an example see special article in *New York Herald*, Mar. 1, 1884.

the places of honor in the House, "Horizontal Bill" seemed content to remain in his lowly position. True, he wielded great influence, but he failed to attain the high goal for which his ability qualified him. His politics were the politics of principle, not of expediency. He was fundamentally a reformer and a man of the people. Merely given the chance by his party, he might have brought a revolution in American government.

William R. Morrison was a Democrat through and through. He eventually learned that both parties were much alike, but he always retained his faith in the Democratic party as the only hope of reform. He held that disagreement with certain policies of a party was not sufficient reason for a man's leaving the party. Reform, or change in policy, must come from within the party, not from without through disintegration of the party. He once said, after having advocated popular election of judges, and having been questioned concerning the danger of allowing politics to become mixed up in the courts, "Your politics is as good as anything you have in the country."[140] But he also recognized that sometimes politics was too much of a good thing. He thought that a court was fully as partisan as any other group, and said that he would as soon take a political question for decision to a ward meeting as to a court.[141] He was not blind to the faults of either party; in fact, was an earnest and honest opponent of the men who long controlled the Democratic organization. Against the Republicans as individuals he nourished no hatreds, nor was he bitterly partisan, but he severely censured and arraigned the Republican party for the corruption and graft of its administration in the years following the Civil War.[142] That he was fair through it all is shown by the attitude of the Republican press; as expressed by the National Republican:

> "Colonel Morrison is a valuable man in Congress. The only objection we have to him is that he is a Democrat. He is too good a man to belong to such a party."[143]

Never a dictator in local and state politics, seemingly, yet the Colonel was usually found at the Democratic conventions of Illinois, and was an enthusiastic and loyal supporter of the party in every campaign. The most notable state convention was probably that at Peoria in 1884. Carter Harrison of Chicago received the nomination for Governor, but he was mortally afraid that the convention would adopt a strong tariff reform plank, and made a speech against it. Mr. Morrison had foreseen the possibility and had arranged that if Harrison threatened his withdrawal if the plank were adopted, the name of General Black should be substituted immediately. Harrison, however, was too wary to go to an extreme in his protest. He was violently opposed by both Morrison and Palmer, but he won his point for the time being, the tariff problem being left open for the national

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[140] *Boston Herald*, July 28, 1895.
[141] *Pittsburgh Dispatch*, June 10, 1894.
[142] *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882; speeches; Morrison to Ruckland, nd.
[143] Washington *National Republican*, 1876 (?) following Morrison's renomination by acclamation.

convention. One of Morrison's arguments was that the duty of the state convention was to declare, not to discuss, party doctrines, taking it for granted that the national Democratic party was pledged to tariff reform. His stand was vindicated later, it was claimed, by his defeat of Harrison for the Senatorial nomination the next year, and the sweeping victory of the Democrats in Illinois in 1890 and 1892.[144]

The place Morrison occupied in state politics as well as national, is indicated somewhat by the fact that he was a member of several Democratic national conventions from 1856 on until 1904. In 1856 he had been a Douglas delegate to the convention which nominated Buchanan; in 1866 he had attended the National Union convention; in 1868 he was a delegate-at-large to the Democratic convention in New York, voting under instructions for Pendleton, though opposed to him because of his Greenback theories.[145] In 1872 he got on the band wagon of the Liberal Republican movement, and went to the Cincinnati convention where he worked for Trumbull. Greeley's nomination, on account of his tariff doctrines, must have sickened Morrison even more than most Democrats. When the next convention year came round Morrison was with the Democrats at St. Louis, though not as a delegate, and managed this time to get in the platform a declaration on the tariff. Both in phraseology and matter this plank sounds like Morrison, but it was a rather exaggerated denunciation of the existing tariff, and called for a tariff for revenue only.[146]

In the Chicago convention of 1884, after the platform had been drawn, Morrison was named chairman of the committee on resolutions. He was supported for this place by Henry Watterson, and would have been named in the beginning except for the factional fight which prevented the election of anyone. It was just after the schism in Congress between Carlisle and Randall. Morrison and Watterson in the committee represented Carlisle, Converse of Ohio represented Randall, and Benjamin F. Butler represented trouble. He had been a Republican, had come over to the Democrats, and as soon as the campaign began was to become an independent candidate for President. He was the leading recalcitrant in the balky subcommittee which framed the platform. To draw up this platform took fifty hours of what Watterson called a "veritable monkey-and-parrott time." Once

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[144] Mr. J. W. Rickert and others; clippings; Fitzmaurice, *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897; Abbot, *Carter H. Harrison*, 182ff; Thomas, *Return of Democratic Party*, 125—which says that the Morrison faction had already obtained a favorable vote on the plank, which Harrison succeeded in getting reversed, and that thus the state delegation went to the convention uninstructed.

[145] *Biographical Congressional Directory*, 879; Babcock, *Presidential Favorites*, 50; *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 30, 1892.

In 1904 Morrison was chosen but did not serve. In 1860 he was at Charleston, tho not a delegate, devoted to the "Little Giant." He soon perceived that Douglas could not be nominated without splitting the party, but when a friend told this to Douglas he replied, "Morrison's a d----d fool. He doesn't know what he's talking about." But Morrison's political prophecie were unusually keen and true. McFarland, *Boston Herald*, Aug. 4, 1891; *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 30, 1892.

[146] *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897; McKee, *National Conv. and Platforms*, 165.

they were near agreement when Butler, "in his peculiarly subtle way," explained to the group that "exclusively for public purposes" and a "tariff for revenue only" meant the same thing—which little explanation prolonged the discussion twenty-four hours. At last the plank was made, such a one as a rope-walker would glory in:

> "The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners. Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the operations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands, *the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.* But, in making reductions in taxes, *it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth.* From the foundation of this government, taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that *any changes of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved.* The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice: *All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government.* The necessary reduction can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the federal government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principle of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxation from the custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, *subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government, economically administered.*"[147]

What does it all mean? It means nothing! It is a "straddle" pure and simple. After Morrison had presented the platform to the convention, Butler proposed an amendment: he wanted protection and said that the committee's plank could not mean protection because Col. Morrison was too honest a man to bring such a proposal before the convention, his convictions being as they were. However, all of Butler's proposals were voted down, and the original double-barreled tariff plank, along with the rest of the platform, adopted without amendment.[148] Morrison's work in the convention which met at St. Louis in 1888 was not so important, although he was named chairman of the Illinois delegation.[149]

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[147] McKee, 204f; Stanwood, *Presidency*, I, 434ff. Italics mine.
[148] Thomas, *op. cit.*, 183ff; Watterson, *Marse Henry, An Autobiography*, II, 122, 252ff; Stanwood, Presidency, I, 434ff.
[149] Article in the *Pilot*, Scrap Book.

In 1885 Morrison had for the only time in his life been a candidate for the Senate. The Illinois General Assembly elected the Senator by joint ballot of both houses, and in 1885 it happened that there were exactly one hundred two Democrats and one hundred two Republicans. John A. Logan and William R. Morrison opposed each other in one of the most sensational and long-drawn-out political battles of our history. Ballots were taken day after day, with no material changes; a few shifts here and there simply balanced each other. The Democratic "102" included a few independents, which made Morrison's chances especially precarious. The struggle to break the deadlock was long and complicated and although intensely interesting the details cannot be given here. The final upshot was that, when a Democratic member died, the Republicans, by a clever ruse, managed to elect a Republican in his place. Then, after about four months of maneuvering and sparring for advantage, John A. Logan at last received one hundred three votes, and by a hard won hair's breadth retained his seat in the Senate.[150]

For Morrison's connections with the conventions of 1892 and 1896, we must first go back a little, and trace the contests for the presidential nomination since 1876. Beginning with 1876 for twenty years William R. Morrison was a presidential possibility. That he was presidential timber no one can doubt, and the presidency might have been his easily "With much less than a Mark Hanna or a Theodore Roosevelt as a campaign manager."[151] He was the "logical" candidate several times, but, as often happens in American politics, the "logical" candidate was not one on whom the party could agree. Other men who came later, and who were to a certain extent made possible by Morrison, beat him, just as McKinley beat Morrill.

When Tilden was leading the field before the convention met in 1876, Morrison was regarded in the East as the most prominent of the dark horse favorite sons from the West. It was thought by many that if Tilden were given the first place on the ticket, Morrison should have second. Morrison himself was working for another candidate, however, and when remonstrated with by a Tilden delegate said that the vice-presidency was too high an office for him.[152] Nevertheless, the candidate they did choose, Hendricks, was helpful only in Indiana in the October elections. He was not as strong in the country as Morrison, who was well and favorably known throughout the West, who stood well in the South because of his advocacy of self-government and equality, who could have consolidated the party in all sections, and who represented in his character and principles the

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[150] Correspondence—of which there is a very full collection on this incident; Democrat Publishing Co., *Prominent Democrats of Ill.*, 72ff; Jacksonville, Ill., *Journal*, Jan. to May, 1885; Abbot, *Harrison*, 190; Mrs. John A. Logan, *Reminiscences*, 424ff; *Waterloo Republic*, Oct. 6, 1909; Chicago *Times*, May 8, 17, June 15, 17, 1894—this on Morrison's possibilities for the Senate that year, when he refused to run.

[151] Belleville *News-Democrat*, Oct. 1, 1909.

[152] *New York Herald*, clipping, Scrap Book; "West Coal," April 24, 1876; New York *Tribune*, July 12, 1876.

very antithesis of the Republican party in that campaign where the chief argument was the cry for "good government."[153] Indeed, Morrison's strength in the South might have been enough to have swung the party to a clear and undisputed victory in that "stolen election."

In 1880, Morrison opposed Tilden and supported Bayard for the nomination, probably due to Tilden's support of Randall, leader of the Democratic opposition to Morrison in the House. After 1877 Morrison was afraid that Tilden's name would be revived, and therefore sided in with the younger group in Indiana, headed by McDonald, in order to neutralize Hendricks.[154] The same kind of shrewdness was displayed by his winking at movements to make himself President when he probably did not expect to be nominated, but wished to kill all chances of the nomination of Palmer by splitting the Illinois delegation. It is probable that at other times he had done the same with Trumbull and Davis.[155] However, he certainly had considerable strength of his own in the Cincinnati convention, where he received 62 votes on the first ballot and then evidently withdrew.[156] Before the convention met it is claimed that a representative of one of the other candidates came to Morrison to see if some arrangement could be made by which Morrison's strength should be shifted to the other, but no such deals were ever made by Morrison.[157] At the convention he was opposed by the leaders from his own state—Sam Marshall and Carter Harrison, both personally and on the Democratic validity of his tariff doctrine.[158] His points of strength are thus summed up in a letter from Wm. J. Fowler, Secretary of the Farmer's Alliance of New York:

> "A consistent hard money record
> "A good war record—equal in this respect to Hancock's
> "Your residence in the Mississippi Valley." [Important because of Louisiana, Texas, etc.]
> "You are known as a friend of tariff reform—on the right side of that issue as Gen. Hancock being a Pennsylvanian is presumably on the wrong side. Hancock is unavailable because Penna. is not only hopeless but the Democracy there is as badly rent by factions as in this state. [N. Y.]
> "Your success in taking the tax off quinine."[159]

The *New York Sun*, a protective tariff paper, suggested that the Democrats would be wise to nominate Morrison in 1884, but said that by so doing they would be definitely committing themselves to a tariff reform program.[160] David A. Wells, the economist and free trader, offered to do anything he could to help Morrison get the nomination. There was a strong boom for him in Washington, led by John B. Clark, Jr., Lowndes H. Davis, and

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[153] New York Herald, clipping, Scrap Book; "West Coal," Apr. 24, 1876; Paxson, *New Nation*, 80f.
[154] *Cincinnati Enquirer*, Dec. 3, 1883; others, loose clippings.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] McKee, 183.
[157] *Boston Post*, Sept. 13, 1882.
[158] Fitzmaurice, *St. Louis Republic*, Sept. 26, 1897.
[159] W. J. Fowler to Morrison, April 10, 1880.
[160] *N. Y. Herald*, Mar. 1, 1884.

Col. Joseph Rickey, all western Democrats.[161] The fight on Morrison's horizontal bill of 1884 showed, however, the party division on the tariff, and the failure to secure reduction, as well as the decrease in the surplus due to the depression, robbed the party of its issue. Only in sure Democratic states did the party endorse free trade, while in Ohio a platform was adopted to which any Republican might have subscribed and in Pennsylvania the protectionist Randall was placed in nomination for President.[162] In the national convention the protectionists were not strong enough to obtain the nomination of Randall, but were able to prevent that of Morrison or Carlisle. Perhaps it was Bayard's supposed tendencies toward free trade which prevented his nomination, and Cleveland's lack of opinion which made him acceptable.[163] The same situation held in 1888 when the "selection out of Congress of the protectionist Randall or the free-trader Morrison was held impolitic."[164]

Morrison was strongly considered to succeed Harrison and probably could have had the nomination in 1892 if he had pulled the strings right. Forty-eight hours before the convention, Catchings of Mississippi, Bourke Cochran and some others, made a poll of the delegations and found that although Cleveland was in the lead he did not have the necessary two-thirds, and that Morrison was second. The Missouri delegation was for Cleveland first, but with Cleveland out of the way, was for Morrison if he could secure the support of Illinois; the Hill delegation from New York was ready to swing to Morrison for the sake of defeating Cleveland; Mississippi was in line and Alabama close behind, with favorable signs from Texas and Kentucky.[165] As the tariff was *the* issue a more logical candidate could not have been found. It was generally felt that unless Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot he would not be nominated,[166] and next to him Morrison stood the best chance. Only one thing was lacking—the support of the Illinois delegation. Fithian and Forman of that delegation were on the brink of disregarding instructions and going for Morrison, but before the plan had gone through, Eckels, a member of the delegation who was opposed to Morrison, wired the Colonel asking him what to do. Morrison's advice during the state convention had obtained the instructions for Cleveland, and now, when it was proposed to shift to him he answered promptly, "You were instructed for Cleveland. Stand

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[161] Wells to Morrison, Mar. 13, 1884(?), saying also that he might be a delegate from Connecticut, and that in any case he would be able to influence state votes, and that he would be glad to do so in favor of Morrison if the latter wished. *Post*, (N. Y. ?) Feb. 11, 1884 (?)—Scrap Book.

[162] Thomas, 121ff.

[163] *Ibid.*

[164] Dewey, *National Development*, 134.

[165] *St. Louis Chronicle*, n. d., Scrap Book; St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, Feb. 28, 1892; A. H. Lewis, *N. Y. Journal*, Apr. 3, 1896; Chicago *Times*, May 20, 1894; Mr. Charles Morrison; Dr. Adelsberger.

[166] A. H. Lewis, in Chicago *Times*, May 20, 1894; Mr. Charles Morrison.

by your instructions."[167] Eckels published this reply in the *Chicago Tribune* and was roundly "cussed" for it by Fithian and Forman. Thus ended the movement for Morrison, and Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot.[168]

Morrison was kept informed of the progress of the campaign, although it is uncertain how much he did himself. Mr. O. O. Stealey, a correspondent of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and friend of Mr. Morrison, described the precarious state of affairs in New York where Cleveland refused to make any deal with the Hill Democrats until Wm. C. Whitney told him that he must either fix things with Sheehan and C. F. Murphy or give up the fight in New York. Cleveland at last went to New York for an interview. He would not agree to the "humiliation" of his Mugwump supporters, but he did agree to recognize the Hill faction as the regular Democracy of New York. Then the Hill machine went to work, but Hill himself did not do much—he said that Cleveland did not like his brand of "practical politics" and that he was under no obligations to tear his shirt for the "stuffed prophet." Stealey also said that he had told Cleveland that Morrison was a big, brave, loyal, and brainy man, and that the President should have his advice and aid. He advised that

> "You should pitch into the campaign at once. You have a future yet before you, and the party need your services. You can do much good for us in the West."[169]

But in spite of Mr. Stealey's advice and Morrison's aid to Cleveland, in spite of his being one of the ablest men in the party, and Illinois' feeling entitled to a place in the Cabinet, he was offered nothing by Cleveland. He was suggested both for the Treasury and Interior, and he would have been excellent in either place. The Treasury was given to John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, but when Carlisle was told of his own appointment he was authorized by Cleveland to tell Morrison that he could have the Interior if he wanted it.[170] Then either Henry Villard or J. J. Hill, representing the northern railroads, protested against Morrison, because on the Commerce Commission he had successfully balked all efforts of the railroads to control him, and in January he was dropped from the list. Hoke Smith of Georgia, suggested by Hill, was named in his stead.[171] Mrs. Morrison in

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[167] A. H. Lewis, in *N. Y. Journal*, April 3, 1896. During the state convention the telegram from Eckels said that the opinion of the convention was divided between Morrison and Palmer, with the advantage in Palmer's favor, and instructions could be obtained for Cleveland. In the absence of the Colonel Mrs. Morrison answered the message, "Have instructions for Cleveland."

[168] McKee, 261. Mrs. Morrison to Mrs. E. K. S. McNamara, early in 1893, claims that for a day it rested upon Morrison's simple "yes" or "no" whether Cleveland would be the party's candidate in 1892.

[169] O. O. Stealey to Morrison, from Washington, Sept. 16, 1892.

[170] A. H. Lewis in *N. Y. Journal*, April 2, 1896; Mr. Charles Morrison; George C. Wedderburn to Morrison, Dec. 6, 1892. Wedderburn was Sec. of the Business Mens' Democratic Ass'n of Baltimore. He said that the *Democratic Advocate* of Westminster, Md., had come out with an endorsement of Morrison for Sec. of the Treas., and that he was anxious to do anything he could to help Morrison get the place. He added, confidentially, that he did not expect from Cleveland the appointment of such good men as Morrison for his Cabinet.

[171] A. H. Lewis said that it was Hill, and Mrs. Morrison in letter referred to said that according to rumor it was Villard. It may have been both, for both represented Northern Pacific interests.

replying to a letter from a friend who had bitterly denounced Cleveland for his repudiation of Morrison, said hopelessly:

> "His fate has been to make the impossible possible for his friends, as the history of Kerr, Carlisle, and Cleveland prove, with the same retribution except in the case of Kerr, whose character was god-like."[172]

Indeed, this matter was only one of a series involving queer appointments and other matters which engendered so much bitterness within the party that with the money issue in addition the Democratic party was soon split wide open.[173]

There were a large number of candidates for the Democratic nomination in 1896. If the party was to be held together the candidate must be a compromise. Some papers seemed to think that Olney's possibilities were spoiled merely because of the fact that he was an easterner, but in any case, Olney, as well as Carlisle, Whitney, Campbell, Stevenson, and Dickinson, were so closely connected with the administration that they could not come out as opponents of Cleveland, and therefore could not get the whole party behind them. Gov. Boies of Iowa was mentioned as a possibility but it was said that he would not even be a delegate unless Iowa declared for free silver. That left Gov. Mathews of Indiana, ex-Gov. Pattison of Pennsylvania, and Colonel Morrison as the only compromise candidates.[174] Of these, Morrison easily led by reason of his age and service. The Washington *Evening Star* said that he "would be a platform in himself," because of his tariff reform efforts, his Civil War experience, and his conservative record on silver. It went on to say, as did many other papers, that it was well known that he was not on good terms with the administration, and that he had not entered the White House for some time.[175] The administration favored Carlisle, claiming to fear Morrison's silver views; its attitude was that a Democrat nominated on a sound money, low tariff program, could sweep the country.[176]

As the spring of 1896 wore on and the day for the convention approached it became more and more evident that Morrison was the leading candidate. One paper went so far as to prophesy that he would be the only nominee before the convention. It was felt that the nominee should be a westerner, and from 1894 on, newspapers from Boston to San Francisco looked to Morrison as *the* strong candidate for 1896. Representative Lawson was reported as saying that both factions in Georgia would unite behind Morrison, and that he was strong throughout the whole South. In January, 1896, when the state convention of Missouri gathered it was said that Morrison was the only one talked

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[172] Mrs. Morrison, *op. cit.*
[173] Watterson, II, 143ff.
[174] Washington *Evening Star*, Apr. 6, 1896; N. Y. *Commercial Advertiser's* correspondent quoted in Amsterdam *Morning Sentinel*, Jan. 25, 1896.
[175] *Evening Star*, Apr. 6, 1896. Due at least partially to the insult of 1892, which Morrison could not forget.
[176] N. Y. *Sun*, Mar. 14, 1896, and April 7, 1896.

of by the Democratic leaders there. Senator Hill from New York was for Morrison, since a western man was desirable, and although Tammany favored Whitney as first choice it was well known that Whitney would not accept, in which case Tammany would throw the support of New York to Morrison.[177] In Illinois a poll of the Democratic leaders showed an overwhelming majority in favor of Morrison. Some questioned his financial views and a few favored Adlai E. Stevenson, but others said they would take Morrison with or without a platform.[178] His boom was being managed by national committeeman Ben T. Cable of Illinois, and the state administration was said to be favorable to him.[179]

However, when the state convention met, Palmer, then in Washington, had little hope. He said that Illinois would be for free silver, that what they needed was a leader and that Morrison simply refused to lead.[180] When the decision on the silver question was reached and Morrison was notified, he immediately telegraphed his friends through Mr. G. A. Koerner:

> "The Illinois Democracy evidently favor the unconditional free coinage of silver. I do not. The majority of the national convention will be for free coinage of silver, and should not be expected to nominate any other than an outspoken advocate of that policy.
>
> "Under these circumstances my endorsement by the state convention though it would be a great compliment cannot be insisted upon by my friends."[181]

Thus ended Morrison's last chance for the presidential nomination. Chairman Hinrichsen of the state committee said after this telegram had been received:

> "Had Colonel Morrison remained in the field he would have had the delegation instructed for him without any trouble."[182]

As it was the delegation went uninstructed.

If Colonel Morrison had but spoken the silver word in the spring of 1896, he would have been the choice of Illinois and after that, it seems probable, of the whole country. As it was, he was accused of being a straddler because he had not taken a definite stand for either gold or silver. He did not want either gold or silver alone; he was a bimetallist.[183] But the man who takes the middle ground, even though the sane ground, is not the man to be trusted by either group of extremists. Morrison's record, and

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[177] Dozens of clippings from all parts of the country, eg.: *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 4, 1896, and April 19, 1896; *N. Y. Herald*, Mar. 29, 1896, which testify to Morrison's strength. On the Missouri situation, *Kansas City Star*, Jan. 24, 1896. On the New York affair, *St. Louis Republic*, Mar. 30, 1896. Chicago *Inter-Ocean*, Mar. 20, 1896; *Chicago Dispatch*, Mar. 20, 1896. The *St. Louis Republic* quotes from A. J. Cummings, a Tammany sachem, friend of Hill. On May 4, 1896, there was a special "Morrison edition" of the *Tammany Times*, booming the Illinoisian for President.

[178] Edwardsville *Intelligencer*, Feb. 7, 1896.

[179] *N. Y. Herald*, Mar. 29, 1896; Chicago *Tribune*, Dec. 7, 1894.

[180] Washington dispatch of May 23, 1896 to *St. Louis Republic*.

[181] Copy of telegram in correspondence; also in *St. Louis Republic*, June 20, 1896, and Washington *Post*, June 19, 1896.

[182] Dispatch from Peoria, N. Y. *Evening Post*, June 22, 1896.

[183] Chicago *Times-Herald*, June 20, 1896 says that Donovan, Prentiss, McConnell, Thos. Cannon etc., Cook County and Illinois leaders, thought Morrison could have had the support of Illinois. His silver views are clearly stated in his speeches, and an example may be found in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, June 6, 1896.

what little he had said (in the spring of 1896 he had not said much:—who is going to cut off his own head sooner than necessary?) showed that he was opposed to the free coinage of silver, 16 to 1, without an international understanding, and at least a few newspapers knew and declared how he stood. He had always been square on that issue, and had not openly sought the nomination. The Washington *Times* quoted him in February as saying:

> "If the nomination comes to me easily and naturally, I am a candidate; but in the sense of an 'office-chaser' and beggar I am not."[184]

He was criticized as a politician for being too honest and not diplomatic enough (and "diplomacy is simply recognized and legalized dishonesty"),[185] and it was this fault, if any fault of his, which robbed him of the nomination of 1896. Even after the convention met at Chicago in July there was a hint from Hill, who was trying to hold the party to a strong sound money platform, that if Morrison was the candidate the New Yorkers would accept a silver plank. Altgeld replied that Morrison had said he was not in sympathy with the Illinois delegation on the silver question, and therefore Illinois could not support him.[186] Needless to say Morrison in no case would have been willing to run on a silver platform.

Morrison's views on the situation after he was out of the running are interesting, particularly so because each opinion of the sagacious old "Sitting Bull" proved correct. He said on June 19, before the convention met:

> "I do not expect the efforts of Mr. Whitney or other gold standard men who go to Chicago for that purpose to be sufficient to prevent a declaration for free coinage, but I expect the Democratic party to survive this campaign, even though it may suffer in the East from what is regarded there as a grave mistake. . . . Of course, some changing from one party to another is to be expected."[187]

After the nomination he refused to talk except to say:

> "From the standpoint of the people who are in a majority at Chicago, Bryan is a suitable representative."[188]

After the nomination of McKinley by the Republicans, and before the Democratic convention had met, Morrison recognized that the result of the election would depend upon Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, where strong silver sentiment was developing.[189]

His own position in the campaign he wrote to a friend:

> "When Bryan was named in a 'regular' convention I determined to vote for him against Republican policies, practices, etc. Of course I could not expect bimetallism or anything but

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[184] Dispatch from Springfield, Ill., in Washington *Times*, Feb. 22, 1896. Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, Feb. 25, 1896, and other loose clippings.
[185] G. G. Bain, in Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, June 10, 1894.
[186] Dispatch from Chicago, *St. Louis Republic*, July 4, 1896.
[187] Washington dispatch of June 19, 1896, *St. Louis Republic*.
[188] Washington dispatch of July 11, 1896, *St. Louis Republic*.
[189] Quoted in numerous clippings of the time.

> the silver standard, etc., from the carrying out of the Chicago platform. Still anything but Bryan means McKinley and it takes a pluckier man than I am to commence voting the Republican ticket at my time of life. Of course, too, I do not fail to recognize the fact that Bryan must surround himself with outlaws and outcasts to some extent, but even in this view it is a choice between outlawry and skilled, trained and organized plunder. Then again Republican success can only be attained and afterwards maintained by purchased ballots. The truth is it is much easier to find reasons for voting against everything in sight than to find anybody to vote for. In this condition of things it was my purpose to remain quietly at home until election day, vote for Bryan and make it easier by voting against an exceptionally mean devil or two on his ticket."[190]

The Colonel did nothing in the national campaign, but he "got off an interview with Jehu Baker," and wrote an open letter helping to expose the crookedness of Altgeld. The word of the "idol of Egypt" doubtless had considerable influence in the defeat of the governor.[191]

This defeat of Altgeld through Morrison's influence is typical of one phase of his life's accomplishments. He was not one of those who reaped the fruits of another's labor; rather he labored and others enjoyed the results. He was the prophet crying in the wilderness. His twelve-year tariff struggle only prepared the way for later reform. The powerful big business interests which he opposed in this tariff controversy at last deprived him of a seat, but immediately Cleveland, against his will, was forced by pressure from Congress to place Morrison on the new Interstate Commerce Commission.[192] His work on the Commission, 1887-1897, guiding that body through ten years of infancy and apparent impotency, clearly marked out the path for future legislation and regulation of commerce. Morrison's ideal was always unselfish service to humanity. Throughout fifty years of public life he fought steadily, consistently, and honestly, against almost overwhelming odds, for the curtailment of privilege and the betterment of the common man. The ends for which he fought are not yet attained, but few men have had a clearer vision of the goal. Hence he deserves a high and an honorable place in the history of American democracy.

On January 1, 1898, Morrison retired from the Interstate Commerce Commission, and did not thereafter enter actively into either law or politics. He built a fine new house in Waterloo, and lived there quietly the rest of his life. Although in debt after his Congressional service, he had managed to save a little money while Commerce Commissioner, and with the income from a small farm was enabled to live comfortably. In his later

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[190] Morrison to G. R. Wendling, of Charles Town, W. Va., Oct. 28, 1896. There is among the Morrison MSS. a receipt for $100.00 which he gave to the Bryan-Sewall campaign.

[191] Jacksonville, Ill., *Journal*, Oct. 24, 1896; G. Leverett of Edwardsville, Ill., to Morrison, Oct. 31, 1896—saying that Morrison's letter was being distributed by the Republicans in pamphlet form, and was hurting local Democratic candidates; many other newspapers of the day.

[192] Cullom, *Fifty Years of Public Service*, 228f. No attempt is here made to study Morrison's career on the Interstate Commerce Commission. He was, however, for ten years the dominating personality on the Commission, acting as chairman during Cooley's illness, and being regular chairman from 1891 to 1897.

years his eyesight failed and after his wife's death his nephews helped him with his correspondence and reading. When he died at his home in the quaint little German city of Waterloo, Illinois, September 29th, 1909, he left his spacious residence to the city for a library—it serves also as a memorial to the city's greatest son.[193]

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[193] Mr. Charles Morrison, Mr. H. E. Hauptfleisch, etc.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., and Milo J. Loveless. 94 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 170 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D. 55 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1900.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. II. Virginia Series, Vol. I. The Cahokia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. CLVI and 663 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1907.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with

introduction and notes by James Alton James. CLXVII and 715 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1912.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. IX. Bibliographical Series, Vol. II. Travel and Description, 1765-1865. By Solon Justus Buck. 514 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1914.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. X. British Series, Vol. I. The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence Walworth Alvord and Clarence Edwin Carter. LVII and 597 pp. 8 vo. Springfield, 1915.

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